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SECRETS

OF THE

AMERICAN BASTILE

"They love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil."

Biblical Daguerre of the Lincoln Dynasty.

"The suggestion that the Union can be maintained by the numerical predominance and military prowess of one section, exerted to coerce the other into submission, is, in my judgment, as self-contradictory as it is dangerous. It comes loaded with the death-smell from fields wet with brothers' blood. If the vital principle of all republican governments "is the consent of the governed," much more does a union of co-equal sovereign States require, as its basis, the harmony of its members and their voluntary co-operation in its organic functions."

EDWARD EVERETT.

"Successful co-ercion by the North would be just as revolutionary as successful secession by the South."

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

"A bargain broken on one side, is broken on all sides."

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JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"The Chicago Platform is a declaration of war upon the Constitution; and its practiced exposition the most consummate despotism."

TOUT LE MONDE.

"I have too much respect for any man that has standing enough to be elected a Senator, to believe that he is for war, as a means for preserving the Union; I have too much respect for his intellect to believe, for one moment, THAT THERE IS A MAN FOR WAR WHO IS NOT A DISUNIONIST PER SE."

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN CAMPBELL,
NO. 419 CHESNUT STREET.
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AMERICAN BASTILLE
OR
BROOKLYN

PREFACE.

Contrary to the writer's original intention, but yielding to the representations of gentlemen to whose good judgment he defers, this pamphlet makes its appearance.

An admirable pamphlet, entitled "Fourteen Months in American Bastiles," by Frank Key Howard, Esq., and published by Kelley, Hedian, & Piet, Baltimore, has already been presented to the public. So far as it purports to treat of the matter, it does it so well and so thoroughly, that no one could expect to go over the same ground with advantage to the public or with credit to himself. To it, therefore, for information in regard to the trials and hardships of State prisoners, the reader is referred.

The purpose of the succeeding pages is to show the character of offences which induced the Administration to resort to a despotism. The case of the writer will serve as a sample, as it were, of the others.

His offence was a letter to Wm. H. Seward—a letter written with no purpose of offence, but, on the contrary, from many circumstances known to the writer, he supposed its contents might receive Mr. Seward's favorable consideration.

In addition to the matter given in the following pages, to show the ground upon which this expectation was based, the official despatches of Mr. Seward, since published, would seem strongly to confirm all the assumptions of the writer as to Mr. Seward's original peaceful policy.

In his despatch No. 2, page 74, dated Washington, April 10, 1861, to Mr. Adams, speaking for the President and himself, he says:

"He (the President) would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs, (the Confederates,) namely, that the Fed-

eral Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, even although he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only Imperial or despotic Governments could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. The Federal Republican system of ours is, of all forms of government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor. Happily, however, this is only an imaginary defect.—*The system has, within itself, ADEQUATE, PEACEFUL, conservative, and recuperative forces.* Firmness on the part of the Government in maintaining and preserving the public institutions and property, and in *executing the laws where authority can be exercised without waging war*, combined with such measures of justice, moderation, and forbearance, as will disarm reasoning opposition, will be sufficient to secure the public safety until returning reflection, concurring with the fearful experience of social evils, the inevitable fruits of faction, shall bring the recusant members cheerfully back into the family, which, after all, must prove their best and happiest, as it undeniably is their most natural home.

“Keeping that remedy steadily in view, the President, on the one hand, will not suffer the Federal authority to fall into abeyance, nor will he, on the other, aggravate existing evils by attempts at coercion, which must assume the form of direct war against any of the insurrectionary States.

“*You will rather prove, as you easily can, by comparing the history of our country with that of other States, that its Constitution and Government are really the strongest and surest which have ever been erected for the SAFETY of any people.*”

The state of affairs was simply this: The principles and policy of the *dominant element* in the Republican party, as exhibited in its platform, its campaign text-books, and as expounded by its most trusted leaders, were so clearly subversive of the Constitution, and imminently threatening to the rights, peace, and dignity of the South, that, unless they should prove to be the most consummate liars, the South was compelled to anticipate such action by the Federal Government and the combined State Governments of *all* the non-slaveholding States, acting in concert, as would cause, “under one Republican Administration, slavery to pass away.” This statement of the position of affairs cannot be successfully contradicted.

Thus situated, the South put itself in a position to secure safety, either in or out of the Union, as necessity might dictate. A party which had carried on a life-long envenomed war against the institutions, interest, and character of the South, had suddenly obtained possession of the Federal Government, with threats still hot on its lips; yet, hoping that the glut of spoils and the sweets of office, might so far assuage this bitter hate as to induce it to forego its baleful programme, the South sought such reasonable assurance of its safety and of its constitutional rights, as might allow it to remain in the Union with safety. The President was deaf to every appeal by the South and the conservative North; he would know no Shibboleth except the Chicago platform; he persistently and ostentatiously announced himself the President of his party, and would carry out its avowed principles. In the very act of taking the oath to maintain the Constitution, he flouted defiance of the Supreme Court in the very face of the Chief Justice administering to him the oath.

His chosen friends in Congress—a ruling portion—inexorably refused to forego one jot or tittle of their announced purposes; purposes which were deliberate, malign, and monstrous treason, wilful and perverse violations of the Constitution; they refused to the South even that small portion of its rights contained in the Crittenden Compromise; they refused to the North its prayer, made in countless petitions, to *allow the people* of the North to give this assurance. In the Senate, the South, through its representatives, begged that some evidence would be given, that hostility was not intended against the South, and all would be well. This was scornfully refused. A Peace Convention was obtained through the efforts of the South, “seeking an excuse to remain in the Union;” but, unhappily, the men in that Convention, of the Republican party, professed to believe that “the South could not be kicked out of the Union.” and that the programme announced of kicking and spitting upon it in the Union should not be changed.

Thousands upon thousands of the wisest men in the North expressed alike their horror of the Republican policy, and declared that, as a "necessity" for its safety, the South would be driven from the Union.

The South did thus go, but in a manner to demonstrate that it was more in sorrow than in anger, and with evident expectation of a return under proper assurances. Matters were thus brought to this issue, Shall we confirm the Republican programme and lose the South, or shall we force the Government to adhere to the Constitution, in letter and in spirit, and retain complete the Union?

The Administration knew full well that, upon this alternative, it would be forced within the limits of the Constitution, it would be compelled to abandon its blasted and blasting policy. Its only hope of preserving unbroken its policy, was by a collision. Mr. Blair, as has always been well understood, secured this policy, by the assurance that, once "set the Federal machine in motion, and the South would clear the track like a flock of sheep before a locomotive." Even then the South had its Commissioners in Washington, seeking, in vain, negotiation.—By fraud and design the Administration succeeded in bringing about a collision, and ever since, amid the smoke of battle, has contrived to conceal the true issue from the public.

Bold and persistent efforts were made, early in the day, to recall the people to this issue. Popular feeling was fast rising. Such papers as opposed force, gained circulation with marvellous rapidity. The New York Daily News, Day Book, Journal of Commerce, Freeman's Journal, The Catholic Herald and Visitor, of Philadelphia, and all such papers, were gaining circulation, while the prostrate condition of business was curtailing all others. The circulation of The News increased with incredible rapidity, and promised, in a few months, to exceed the combined circulation of the Herald, Times, and Tribune. Peace meetings were springing up all over the land, when suddenly this wicked Administration, unable to vindicate its course, and to escape an issue fatal to it, sought to stifle all discussion, and, with an iron hand, suppressed papers and imprisoned many who

were active in opposing its policy. By a concerted howl of treason from its press and office-holders, and by threats of incarceration, it did silence expression for a time, until, at length, its corruption and imbecility so augmented the ranks of opposition that a general denunciation arises from the whole land.—*The late laws of Congress are intended to give the semblance of color of law to a renewed system of terrorism, to which, if the people submit, they will richly have earned the sufferings and humiliation to which they, in that case, are clearly destined.* It was during this reign of terror that “*Ribboned Oxen*” * became numerous; Democrats who, with false and cow-

* Daniel S. Dickinson thus pictured the condition of himself and other Democrats, seduced by the appeals and threats of Republicans to a too willing frailty:

“Do you know, my Democratic friends, how the Republicans serve Democrats who go over to them? I will tell you how. They serve them as a New York butcher serves his fat ox. He puts gaily covered ribbons on his horns, and marches him through the streets as a spectacle to be stared at, and then—last scene of all—he drives him to the slaughter-pen. This is the way Republicans serve Democrats who are flattered and cajoled by them into an abandonment of their principles.”

And thus Mr. Dickinson describes the Republican party, which has “*ribboned*” him, a pitiful spectacle, trudging the path to this Republican shambie:

“And what constitutes now the opposition to the Democratic party? A faction in a portion of the States, made up of the bad remnants of the Whig party—made up of deserters and outcasts from the Democratic party—made up of fanatics, disappointed office-seekers, profligate priests, and political mountebanks in general, who have congregated all the bad elements of existence altogether, like that drag-net which Scripture says was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind, but unlike that net, they have kept the bad and thrown away the good. * * * *

“If we may believe their lips, they have great benevolence and philanthropy, and are going abroad seeking that they may do good; but the truth is, that they are walking up and down the earth, like that spirit that has gone out walking among dry places, seeking rest and finding none, and finally returning with seven other spirits, more wicked than itself, to make the last state of the people worse than the first; and in my humble judgment, * * * if Satan has been commissioned to scourge mankind, he could not have better fulfilled his mission than by turning an Abolition disunionist, and preaching the doctrines they preach. A more graceless set of politicians never congregated. They are desperate men from all parties—the lame, the frail, and the blind, gathered together; and what are they going to do? Going to help freedom! Freedom for whom? Their every effort jeopardise freedom; and if only their efforts prevailed, we would not have a free government, Freedom for a few blacks.

“Turning aside from the great destinies of humanity, leaving this country and the

ardly hearts, deserted the principles of life-long profession, to take upon themselves the Republican yoke to get fed at its stalls, have earned an infamy, the leprosy and stench of which neither gold nor office can conceal nor smother, and which will prove to their descendants a sad heritage for generations to come. They betrayed the people who had trusted them. They will rot beneath a nations' curse.

The original issue is still before us. It is this : The Administration claimed the right and avowed its purpose to substitute for the Constitution the Chicago platform, interpreted by Abolition high priests. The South, clinging to the Constitution as the ark of common safety, as *the* bond, the *only* bond of Union, protested against this monstrous substitution, and demanded an unqualified adhesion to the Constitution and lawful decisions of the Supreme Court.

The whole scope and purpose of the action of the South was to force a decision upon this, the only true issue.

Certain of defeat upon this naked issue, the Administration designedly and fraudulently precipitated other issues to avoid this, the only true one.

The salvation of the Administration depends upon a suppression of the truth. Its acts cannot bear the light; light must be shut out, or the Administration dies. It has no punishment for the admitted general robbery and corruption by its own agents in every branch of public employment, although it is its bounden duty to punish such persons, but it reserves its malignant activity to oppress those who contend for the preservation of the Constitution unsullied. That is the mortal, the unpardonable sin.

W. H. WINDER.

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH, 1863.

race to whom its destinies were committed, to go off in a crusade, jeopardising the institutions of the country, violating the Constitution, menacing the harmony and integrity of every bond of union, rather than slavery should be extended. What do they care for slavery? They would seek to rivet slavery upon the limbs of thirty millions of people, and upon humanity for all time to come, in order that mad, cruel, incendiary ideas should be carried out in reference to a few blacks."

THE SINS OF STATE PRISONERS.

“Ex uno disce omnes.”

On the morning of the 10th day of September, 1861, I had mailed a letter to Governor Seward. As this letter exercised a potent influence in keeping me in confinement, some preliminary explanation of the causes and motives which led to my writing it, is necessary fully to comprehend its import.

In the month of August, 1861, I addressed the following letter to General Cameron, then Secretary of War, in which was stated, my conviction that war could not secure union, but would insure separation.

[Copy.]

“PHILADELPHIA, 30th AUGUST, 1861.

“DEAR SIR :

“I take the liberty of enclosing to you an article from the ‘North American’ of this date. It is from the pen of Henry Hays, Esq., a member of one of our oldest and most respectable families. I enclose it because I think it takes the true ground—that the outcries against the head of the War Department are as general and indefinite as they are boisterous and clearly malevolent. The fact that no specifications are attempted, suffices to show the calumniators have knowledge of none. The few instances sought to be adduced some time since recoiled fatally on the accusers.

“Mr. Hays and I are antipodes on the war. He thinks that only by war can union be restored, while I am sure that war is a patent for separation inevitable, as Mr. Douglass well said. Accordingly, Mr. Hays, early in the day, sent an application for appointment as second lieutenant in the regular army, enclosed to Mr. Blair, who promised to lay it before you. He forwarded a strong letter from Commodore Stewart, who has generally refused letters to any one, and who feels greatly mortified that his letter did not secure Mr. Hays’ appointment. His friend and schoolmate, Mr. Hazlehurst, also wrote you in his fa-

vor. Mr. Caleb Cope, Morton McMichael, John Grigg, and Evans Rogers, and others, also gave letters. I have no doubt his appointment would be a good one, and that he would make a good officer, acceptable to the regular army as any civilian could be. I suppose you would have given him the appointment if you could have given consideration to his application. In enclosing the within, I do so not only without Mr. Hay's knowledge, but I am sure very much against his wish if he knew of it. I believe that the assaults on you are malevolent, and that, if any good men join in them it is from ignorance.

"My own position is this: I am confident that you, or Governor Seward and President Davis, or any two reasonable men North and South, could, in a few hours, arrange terms of union which, being submitted to the people of both sections, would receive the support of a majority of both sections, and thus secure a happy reunion. I believe a war to be certain and final dissolution. Thus believing, I look upon the war as a monstrous and wanton evil, and I shall continue, clearly and distinctly, to avow my convictions that union is practicable in that way, by peace, and in no other, and I will resort to every honorable and legal mode to impress this conviction on the people and on the Administration. I believe, further, that a continuance of this war will involve us in a collision with the powerful Governments of Europe, and so exasperate each section as to render a union—a fraternal union—an impossibility.

"While my personal regard for you inclines me to do you justice, and to stand by you against unjust assaults, I regret to find myself differing so widely from your present action and policy as to deem its overthrow indispensable to the national salvation—to any union.

"I know you will excuse my frankness in so distinctly stating my dissent.

"Yours, respectfully,

"W. H. WINDER.

(Signed,)

"Hon. S. CAMERON."

"WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER 2, 1861.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your letter of the 30th is at hand.

"I regret that it was not in my power to appoint young Mr. Hays, who, I recollect, was highly recommended by gentlemen in whom I have great confidence. It is not singular that even such competent men as he, were overlooked, for applications came by thousands, and were pressed upon me, by day and by night, by Senators and Representatives. When, finally, the vacancies were all filled, I was absent from the city, on a brief visit to my home, made necessary in consequence of indisposition. There are now no more lieutenants to be appointed, excepting such as may be selected from meritorious non-

commissioned officers; otherwise Mr. Hays' claims would receive favorable consideration.

"For your many evidences of personal friendship and respect, I have the highest appreciation. We have never agreed very well in politics, but I have never doubted that you had at heart the best interests of the country.

"Truly yours,

"SIMON CAMERON.

"W. H. WINDER, Esq.,

"Philadelphia."

[Copy.]

"PHILADELPHIA, 7th SEPTEMBER, 1861.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your favor of the 2nd instant has been received, in which, in reference to Mr. Hays, you say, 'there are no more lieutenants to be appointed, otherwise Mr. Hays' claims would receive favorable attention.' I am much gratified at this assurance, which will secure him an early appointment to fill any occurring vacancy.

"The very handsome manner in which you tolerate my strongly differing opinion, is worthy of your liberal spirit, and is very acceptable to me.

"Yours, most respectfully,

"W. H. WINDER.

"HON. SIMON CAMERON,

"Secretary of War."

Emboldened by this frank declaration of General Cameron, as my personal relations with Governor Seward had always been friendly, I conceived that a letter from me might be received by him in a spirit of equal candor, and accordingly I addressed him the letter above referred to.

During the session of Congress in 1850, in which the compromise measures were passed, Governor Seward and I occupied, in Washington, adjoining houses, and had much intercourse, and being then of the same party, though differing on the compromise measures, freely discussed political subjects. In one conversation on platforms, he expressed his preference for a

platform large and broad enough to accommodate every variant interest, believing that in a contest with the Democratic party, the hope of self profit, which each interest would indulge, would constitute it a compact army ; he relied upon some kind of oil, which he did not distinctly define, to lubricate the attrition which, after success, a rivalry should generate.

After the passage of the compromise measures I expressed a strong hope that agitation would cease, as, in this compromise, the North had got pretty much everything, the mere change of fugitive slave bills being, in no just sense, a compromise by the North. Governor Seward was very decidedly of the opposite opinion, and he declared his conviction in the most emphatic language, that from that time forward agitation on the fugitive slave law would go on increasing at the North until the line between the free and slaveholding States would be the line of parties, when the North would take the reins of power and govern the country. It seemed to me, then, so improbable a prophecy, that I was blunt enough to pronounce it preposterous—an impossibility that a united South and a Democratic North, with all the influence of the Federal and Democratic State Governments, could fail to command votes enough at the North to constitute, with the South, a majority of the Electoral College ; that the evils patent upon such a division of parties had been too solemnly foretold by Washington to permit the people to become thus insane. He said he would regret such a result, but that its coming, at no very distant day, was inevitable. He, alas ! was the truer prophet. How far his expressions of regret were sincere, let his subsequent course attest.

Previous to the nomination for President at the late election, in frequent conversations with a very devoted and very intimate friend of Governor Seward, I was strongly urged to support Governor Seward for the Presidency. In reply to my declaration that Governor Seward's Abolition proclivities rendered such a course an impossibility to me, and, I believed, would prove fatal to Seward's hopes, I was assured that I was very

greatly in error; that Governor Seward's nomination was certain, his election beyond a peradventure, and his re-election certain by unanimity at the South—his warmest supporters.

I replied, if this will be so, it must be from the adoption of a policy very different from that which now he so vehemently urges. I took occasion, subsequently, editorially, in "The Pennsylvanian," to give what I understood, from these conversations, to be Governor Seward's programme, and enclosed it in a letter to this gentleman, as being the views of Governor Seward, as I understood them from him.

"PHILADELPHIA, 10th FEBRUARY, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"In my solicitude to avert that most dreaded of calamities—a separation of our friendly Union into two hostile sections, I sometimes engage in the contests between the Republican wings. As an instance, I enclose you some remarks I have made on Greeley's attempt to defeat a settlement.

"This man seems to me to have but two mainsprings of action—vanity and spite. They flare out in all that he says or does, and a post-mortem examination will surely disclose the great prominence of a white liver.

"I hardly suppose that you will concur in all my Democratic views expressed in the enclosed, but in many of them I believe you will.

"From the action of Mr. Weed, and, still more, from the innate kindness of your nature, I assume that your patriotism predominates over party, and that your aspirations are first for an harmonious union of the States.

"With great respect, I am, most sincerely, yours,

"W. H. WINDER.

"R. M. BLATCHFORD, Esq., New York."

[From the Pennsylvanian, of February, 1861.]

"GREELEY ON COMPROMISE.

"The 'fighting Bob' of the Tribune, who *now*, for the selfish and sinister purpose of crushing Seward, Weed & Co., resists the 'yielding of one inch' of the Chicago platform to save the Union, and who denounces all compromisers as traitors, thus spoke through the Tribune on the 5th August, 1850 :

'A SIGN.—The developements of public sentiment and the fruits of agitation in the Territories themselves, appeared concurrently almost certain to secure the non-extension of slavery thereto, even in the absence of any Congressional prohibition. Our opinion of the propriety of the Wilmot proviso has not changed one hair, but the necessity for it is now far less than what it has been, while the probability of enacting it appears to have receded into the vague future. *Now*, therefore, WE are willing to COMPROMISE, and take HALF our right rather than continue a controversy from which we can anticipate no good, but apprehend much evil.'

"This was 'fighting Bob' Greeley's doctrine of compromise when Seward, Weed & Co. were opposed to a compromise. He went for compromise to crush Seward, Weed & Co., and on that occasion succeeded; *his compromise* included the hated fugitive slave law, and was passed in spite of the utmost efforts of Seward, Weed & Co. to defeat it.

"Greeley, now a 'fighting Bob,' has uniformly advocated the abolition of the army and navy, as being a national burden, solely for the benefit and advantage of the slaveholding States, and he was always most unequivocally against war with *foreign* nations. — So long as he supposed that Seward, Weed & Co. were uncompromising for the enforcement of the laws, he was faithful to his non-combatant policy, and was loud and frequent in his declarations of letting the Southern States go in peace. By taking this position, he thought he had got the coercionists—Seward, Weed & Co.,—on the flank. But their sagacity disappointing this expectation, Greeley instantly assumed the character of 'fighting Bob,' has become as foul-mouthed as Thersites, and as bloody-minded as such ineffable cowards usually are. Greeley, like the Irish pig, must be driven the way one does not wish him to go.

"Again, and still later, so long as Seward and Weed continued radical, Greeley continued conservative, compromising. The Tribune, still harping on my daughter—the defeat of Seward—had, previous to the nomination, the following shot at radicals: 'From information from unquestionable sources' it said that 'if a radical candidate (such as Seward, Chase, Wade, Lincoln,) be insisted upon at Chicago, a large defection may be expected in Pennsylvania and New Jersey among the conservative portion of the opposition.' Thus the Tribune continued the advocate of compromise and compromise candidates, (Bates, Bell, and McLean,) and the bitter foe of radicals. So effectually did the Tribune intend to lay Seward out cold, that it included in the above anathema all radicals likely to have Seward in their cabinet, and as Mr. Lincoln was one of the denounced, he can judge how far Greeley's support of his nomination was honest. He

cannot shut his eyes to the fact that he owes the support of Greeley exclusively to Greeley's still more bitter hostility to Seward, and not at all to any confidence in or regard for himself. Greeley sold to Giddings his compromise principles, and adopted his own anathematized radicalism, receiving, as pay therefor, the head of Seward.

"Governor Seward's sagacity showed him clearly that *now* was the time for compromise; that the Republican victory, in connection with congressional representation, under the new census, would make the free States so immensely predominant that any future control of the Federal Government by the slave States was a clear impossibility. To Seward's mind the case presented itself simply thus:—His object in inaugurating a sectional contest for the control of the Federal Government was to check what he deemed an undue influence of the South in the councils of the nation. The late victory and the census render the accomplishment of his purpose a certainty, and there is no longer any beneficial result possible from that sectional strife which Washington so solemnly warned us would inevitably sever the Union. In addition to which Governor Seward sees, as do all sensible men, that while the Republican party elected its President through unhappy divisions of that overwhelming majority opposed to it, yet the result of the election clearly showed that nearly two-thirds of the people of the United States had declared against the Republican party, and in favor of the South's claims. And further, that this overwhelming majority was fully sustained by the emphatic opinion of that tribunal which the Constitution itself has made the umpire; that, in fact, all that the Republican party had to countenance its doctrines is the chance or bogus election of Lincoln; all other authorities, including the Supreme Court, being against the Chicago platform; and thus to persevere with chance-gotten power, to disregard these, would be treason of the rankest class.

He is perfectly aware that, under any and every concession by the free States, including the extremest doctrines enunciated in the Dred Scott decision, nearly the entire territory now owned by the United States must infallibly be free States, and that to resist 'surrender of an inch' in concession, would be to dissolve the Union, involving all its untold horrors, to gain not an atom more than will certainly be gained by war, even if successful, would in reality gain nothing which would not be equally secure under the extremest construction asked by the South. But there is one motive stronger with 'fighting Bob' Greeley than all the averting of dissolution and civil war, and that is the killing off of Seward and Weed. Nothing under the sun is more absolutely certain than that if Seward and Weed had taken the 'yield not an inch' ground, the Tribune batteries would promptly have been armed with the Armstrong artillery of conservatism, and Seward and Weed would have been powdered. His rage and mortification at

this unexpected stand of Seward and Weed are knawing his vitals, and in his contortions he will most probably mortally wound himself. These manifest inconsistencies and this daring disregard of popular intelligence are in entire conformity with that spirit of falsehood which is nature with Greeley, as is odor with the onion, and both are in perpetual exhalation. We now close these remarks with the following graphic picture of Greeley, Beecher, Cheever & Co.:—"Liberty's ministers are the fellest pirates that ever swept the earth with desolation, filling it with the cries of distress and bereavement." "

"NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 14, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"I thank you for your letter and its enclosure. It expresses pretty much my views. I am for preserving the Union by some concession, if necessary. I hope enough will be done to keep in the border States. A convention would, I doubt not, settle the whole matter satisfactorily.

"Very truly, yours, &c.

"R. M. BLATCHFORD.

"W. H. WINDER, ESQ."

The statement of Governor Seward that he would "give his head for a football if peace and satisfaction to the South was not had in sixty days," all his prophecies, at an early date, of an early peace, I understood to be predicated upon expectations of inaugurating the foregoing policy. The Albany Evening Journal was earnest for compromise, solemnly warning people of the terrible future in case of a disregard of this advice. I was aware of General Scott's letter—the one read by Mr. Van Buren. How I learned its contents I cannot now recall, for at the time I learned it I did not suppose it was a secret. Mr Seward had distinctly stated his readiness "to sacrifice party to the Union."

But the Abolition faction, having an ally down deep in the heart of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Seward had his choice to abandon his peaceful policy or his position in the Cabinet. All who know Governor Seward, know full well that a subsidence into private life is to him a greater horror than

a descent into the grave itself. This feeling was intensified by the idea of *Greeley and his friends* monopolizing power and patronage, which, together with the electric shock of Sumter, that brought, apparently, the whole North to its feet, to be instantly precipitated on the South—carried him, against his convictions, I believed, into the war camp.

The battle of Bull Run had taken place, and a stagger had been given to overweening confidence. In August I had the correspondence with General Cameron, then Secretary of War, already given.

My object in writing the letter to Governor Seward was to induce him to resume his old position, which I hoped might bring about a reconstruction, even at that late hour, or at any rate leave an opening for such a junction of the States as, in the language of Mr. Adams, is the only Union that can be permanently valuable—"the Union brought about by the gravitation of affinity."

This letter will suffice, also, to explain the mystery *why* I was not released when General Cameron, whose name alone appeared on the record of the Bastille as the authority for my imprisonment, wrote to Governor Seward disavowing all knowledge of my arrest, and requesting my release. Having me confined on General Cameron's record, he kept me imprisoned to punish me for the wound it inflicted on his *amour propre*, but conceals himself behind General Cameron's record, to avoid the issue of that letter, which caused my long confinement.

[Copy.]

" PHILADELPHIA, 10th SEPTEMBER, 1861.

" DEAR SIR :

" I have taken the liberty of addressing you the accompanying communication because there is so much of humanity about you as to attract even those who revolt at many doctrines you have enunciated, and because I believe, *if you felt that you had the power*, you would seek a peaceful restoration of the Union. Your political destruction is one of the aims of those men who unfortunately find access to the confidence of the President, and, so far, have overruled your efforts or your wishes to that end. If you could nerve yourself to the fight you

could crush those men, and save your country from the horrors of war and of that dissolution towards which all the aims of those men tend whatever they may profess.

"I feel that I have been bold in speech, but not half as much so as I am in heart and purpose, to do all I can for the restoration of a fraternal Union, which I deem vital to the interests of both sections. I do not mean to assert that the South has been exempt from blame; but being the weaker, all her errors can and will be remedied on the restoration of the Union.

"I should be gratified to learn that you receive this communication in good part, and still more gratified to learn that you look with a favoring purpose on any practicable scheme of a peaceful Union, and that you will clear your skirts of the diabolical spirit which actuates those men who seem to hate you almost equally with the South.

I am, most respectfully and truly, yours,

"W. H. WINDER.

"Hon. WM. H. SEWARD."

The following is the communication referred to in the letter just given :

"DEAR SIR :

"While, perhaps, I may, in submitting to your consideration the following suggestions, incur the charge of presumption, I am very sure that I am entitled to credit for frankness, sincerity, and right motive—a deep and absorbing desire to preserve in perpetuity a constitutional, fraternal union of all these States, and that your candor will attribute to me only this motive.

"I address you because, from the evidence of circumstances, I believe that, deep down in the profound of your soul, you will find an approval of them; and, meaning no offence, in saying that much of the responsibility of bringing to a certain stage the terrible crisis which now quakes our political existence attaches to you, I yet believe that, if at that stage of the crisis, you had had control—had been the Executive—the storm would have blown over with little damage, yet clearing the atmosphere of the pestilential vapors which threatened the life of the Union.

"But at that stage bolder and infinitely bad men, your bitter enemies as they are the unadulterated enemies of the Constitution, the Union, and the rights of man, thrust you and your better purpose aside, and, gaining access to the Executive, poured into the porches of his ear that cursed juice of hellebore—Abolitionism—which, down in the recesses of his soul found genial soil, whence sprouted this unhappy war, by which the Abolition wedge is being driven through

the Constitution, pushing hopelessly assunder the fragments of the Union, and, by mad action, inviting collision with the strong powers of Europe. But briefly and without argument to the purpose of these suggestions.

"Senator Wade spoke truly in the Senate chamber, when he declared his conviction that the whole southern mind labored under the firm belief that the accession of the Republican party to power was imminently dangerous to their peace, dignity, and most intimate institutions: fears which he declared to be not well founded.

"Senator Davis, apparently to meet this declaration, and to bring about the happy condition of affairs which would exist, if Senator Wade's disclaimers were true, made the strongest appeals to him and his associates. He said that "fraternal feeling was all the South asks to perpetuate a Union. For himself he believed it did exist in the northern heart. Submit to our people the evidence that hostility does not exist, and I feel that all this bitterness will cease;" because where fraternal feeling dwells, intentional injustice could not; and so solicitous for "an excuse to remain in the Union" was the South, he added, that, "if the Republican party would, in good faith, offer the Crittenden compromise it would be received as a sufficient evidence of fraternal feeling, though it fell far short of their constitutional rights, as expounded by the Supreme Court." To this generous and earnest appeal the Republican Senators sat in sullen, frowning silence, and indignantly voted down the olive branch—the Crittenden compromise—*thus* showing, as clearly as they could, their purpose inexorably to carry out the Republican programme.

"Mr. Webster has truly said, the purposes of a party are known by the outspakings of its leaders, and it must justly be held accountable for what they promulgate, if it continues its countenance and support to these men. He says there is no other authoritative exponent. Let us see, then, the state of affairs.

"The 'irrepressible conflict' had been nursed from the date of the compromise of 1850 until it culminated in the Chicago Convention. At a previous convention, before the virus had become so strong, when Fremont was nominated, a northern man, so moderate, so cautious, so law-abiding, so eminent in position as President Fillmore, had deemed it a duty to proclaim to the whole American people that the principles of that party were so in violation of the Constitution, so imminently threatening to the just and vital rights of the South, that the election of Fremont would be a just, as it would prove the inevitable, cause of dissolution.

"*A fortiori* of the nominee of the Chicago platform, northern men of every station in life and position declared that such an election could have no other result than separation, as a just and necessary consequence—an exit through the portals of the Union being the only safety for the South. When a strong man, an enemy, threatens to strike you,

it will be too late to wait to see if he will do it. *Assured safety can be found only in an anticipating separation.*

"Thus, when Mr. Lincoln said 'the States cannot exist half free, half slave,' and that 'slavery must be placed where the public mind shall rest satisfied that it is in process of extinction,' and when he urges the equality of the black and white races, and that 'artificial burdens must be lifted from the shoulders of all men;' when Governor Seward exclaims, 'with this victory [Lincoln's election] comes the downfall of slavery,' and that 'one Republican Administration will suffice to destroy it,' and when he certifies, under his own hand, that he has carefully read and approved the 'Helper Crisis;' when Senator Wilson exclaims, 'We have our heel on the neck of slavery, and will not raise it while one slave remains in bonds;' when Thurlow Weed, the able *alter ego* of Governor Seward, certifies 'that the circulation in the *free States* of the 'Helper Crisis' will insure the election of a Republican, and the passing away of slavery;' when all these black threats hung over the South, who saw all the northern State Governments—legislative, executive, and judicial—banded together in marked subserviency to the party of these men, with personal liberty bills covering their statute books, with repeals of all acts of amity, with excommunication from all religious association, it had cause for apprehension, and little inducement to a continued Union. But such was its hereditary attachment to the Union and its old glories, that so long as the Federal Government remained a barrier between it and the unfriendly party of the North, it was desirous of remaining in the Union; but, should the Federal power come into the hands of this party, already in the possession of all the Northern States, it could see no safety except in the escape through the portals of the Union. So said thousands at the North itself.

This most dread calamity—more dread than all others together which have ever fallen on our people, in the wrath of Heaven did come, and the curse of the Lord, Abraham Lincoln, is upon us.*

"Staggered at this evidence of hostility, while preparing for escape, the South yet parleyed with this party, to try and get some reasonable assurances that it would not carry out its threatened desolating programme; but that, having power, it should give security that the South, remaining in the Union should not have her rights, peace, and dignity invaded. This has been steadily, haughtily refused, until the South came to the conclusion it was safer out of the Union, with open hostility, than to remain in and be smothered. I do not hesitate to make the assertion, from personal knowledge, that up to the hour he left the Senate chamber, Jefferson Davis was a better Union man than would be the whole Anti-Slavery Republican party, rolled into one man.

* This sentence was expunged from the copy sent to Governor Seward, not because it was undeserved, nor from any doubt of his concurrence, but because it was hardly *comme il faut* for a Cabinet Minister to let it be said. So many persons have read my copy, seized by Governor Seward, from which it was not erased, that to avoid a charge of garbling, I replace it with this note of explanation.

In order to vindicate myself in asserting that the South was pre-eminently attached to the Union, I will not enter into the history of New England in order to show that she was last to meet the foe, but the first to strike a friend; nor to show that "the Massachusetts School," from 1800, has been uniform and consistent in favor of the right, and in favor of the practice of State Sovereignty and Secession, and that no one more strongly advocated it than did Mr. Everett, who now so conveniently turns his back upon *all* his past life—but I will refer you to what the South has borne for the benefit of the North.

The North furnished nothing to the South which it could not get elsewhere: it might be sunk in the sea and would not be missed by the South. The North gets from the South nothing which it could get elsewhere. The North could not find customers as substitutes for the South. The South could find customers for everything it has without reference to the North.

The North has been incapable of taking care of itself, without heavy duties for protection. The South has always been able to take care of itself without such protection. To illustrate: A duty of 30 per cent. on five millions of cloths, raises the price of the fifty millions made in the United States 30 per cent., all of which the South pays to the North—that is, it pays the North 30 per cent. more than it would have to pay to Europe for the same goods. The same of Iron. Thus, by a moderate calculation, the South has paid to the North, since the formation of the Constitution, several thousand millions of dollars. Besides which, it has allowed an absolute, exclusive monopoly of ship-building and the coasting trade, and has allowed fish and other bounties.

Suppose the South had required the expenses of Government to be paid by direct taxation and free-trade; it would have saved vast millions, and the North would have remained comparatively destitute of manufactures, and her population would not have exceeded that of the South, which up to 1810, both black and white increased at the rate of one-third in ten years—the North only one-fifth.

Let any man picture to himself the relative position of North and South had there been absolute free-trade in all things, ship-building and coasting trade included, and let him contrast it with the present relative condition, and then let him candidly acknowledge the mountainous indebtedness of the North to the patriotism, love of Union, and fraternal feeling which has characterized the South from the beginning.

The South paid annually to the North at least five hundred millions, and she paid the entire proceeds of her cotton, rice and tobacco—of her naval stores and lumber—of her grain and cattle sold—of her minerals, &c.; these amounts from the fifteen States, are fully equal to five hundred millions a year, including the money spent in visiting the North, in sending her children to our colleges, legal, medical and classical.

In a separation, this money properly expended, would augment immensely the cities of the South, giving advantages which would render a resort to the North for anything unnecessary.

In a word, Union is of the first importance to the Northern pocket, which it fills as it depletes that of the South.

And yet, notwithstanding the manifold advantages to the North, and disadvantages to the South, among which, as is important to be noticed, is the fact that the North has the power and has shown the will to build a Northern Rail Road to the Pacific, by the issue of hundreds of millions of United States bonds, by the donation to the Road of alternate sections of thirty miles in width of the land along the Road, and by means of a Homestead Bill to give Northern men and strangers the remainder of the National domain. By the issues of other hundred of millions of bonds, for the needed and needless improvements of Northern rivers and harbors—all to build up the North; while the South, thus stripped of all its share of the public domain, is, in addition, to pay its share of the hundred of millions expended for the Pacific Rail Road, improvement of rivers and harbors, and a tribute of from 10 to 30 per cent. on all manufactures. These are some of the inequalities of the Union.

But notwithstanding all these very serious drawbacks, the South has contentedly remained, satisfied in good brotherhood, free institutions, and a Government to command respect. But it requires itself that respect in the Union which it gives to the North.

And I now close, leaving much unsaid, by stating that the end and object of this communication is to state my conviction, that if proper persons be selected to open negotiations with the Confederates, that terms could be agreed upon for union, which being submitted to the people of both sections, would receive the sanction of a majority of both sections. I feel emboldened to say so, by the terms in which President Davis expresses his willingness to entertain negotiations for a settlement. The terms are so broad, as would seem, they were intentionally made to include negotiation for a return to the Union.*

I know that negotiations are opposed by the Sumners, Wilsons, Wades, Fessendens, Chandlers, and others of that ilk—crimson-dyed Abolitionists, with no spark of a genuine Union, Constitutional feeling—because peace and restoration of the Union is death to them. If negotiations fail to bring peace, what harm? We will so far have vindicated our cause as to bring the issue to an undisguised and unequivocal focus, when the real difference being before the world, a true and just judgment may be had, and then if need be war, coercion can be used. But if negotiations, which may bring peace and Union, be denied us, and war urged, and in its progress it shall bring us into collision with great European Powers, ending with final separation, and leaving the nation bleeding at every pore, exhausted, overwhelmed in debt, and every family tearful by bereavement, will these men, the Blairs, Sumners, Wilsons, Chandlers, Greeleys, Wades, &c., be able to indemnify

* The reply of President Davis to the Committee of the Maryland Legislature, sent to him simultaneously with another to Mr. Lincoln, to induce them to open negotiations for an adjustment of difficulties.

the country for all these evils, the fruits of their malignant contrivance? If they cannot, had we not better first try that other inexpensive, christian course towards our fellow countrymen, who, we believe, act under much misapprehension, which being dispelled, may lead to peace and Union.

Let every one advocate war, or negotiation for a peaceful Union, as he wishes to incur or avoid the weighty responsibilities we have above adverted to.

In regard to the relative manifestations by the North and by the South, what are the facts? The whole earth has been dinning by the noise of our press, in trumpeting the marvellous, unprecedented uprising of the North in favor of the Union; and truly and most justly is it stated, that with the exception of that class which herded with the Sumners and Garrisons, the Wilsons and Greeleys, the Wades, the Chandlers and the Phillips, the North is sincerely and truly a unit in its desire for the perpetuation of the Union. But how—by what means? By war? With a population, in the non-seceding States of twenty-four millions, after the most wonderful efforts we have succeeded in getting, about 225,000 men for the army. Of these, if I be well informed from one-half to two-thirds are foreigners, leaving about 80,000 American soldiers. Of these, more than half enlisted from sheer starvation, leaving at most about 40,000 American soldiers. Of the foreigners, a very large majority may be said to have enlisted from necessity and want of employment. If we relied upon the same class of men which constitute the Southern Army, we could not raise a *volunteer* force of 100,000 men from the whole 24 millions.

“The South has made no trumpeting to the world, calling on it to admire its wonderful uprising, but with a white population of about four millions—one-sixth of the population of the adhering States—with a less proportion of money, and a still less proportionate ability to equip and provide for a proportionate number, it has now under drill about four hundred thousand men, which, in proportion, would require two million four hundred thousand by the North. What mean these figures? They can have but one meaning, and that is that the South feels to the quick that this war, as waged for unconditional submission, if successful, is a fatal knell to its peace, dignity, and safety, to a degree rendering extermination less hateful. Nothing short of a deep, absorbing, overwhelming, abiding conviction that such would be the result, could account for the attitude of the South, which, through its President, has vainly offered to negotiate for settlement of difficulties, in terms and language which might include Union. What mean the meagre figures of the northern army, with the great population, the immense wealth, and the undoubted patriotism of the people, and their desire to perpetuate the Union? There can be but one meaning. It is that they have no confidence that a ruthless, vindictive, relentless war, carried on with a press spluttering incessant hate and calumny against the South, until all christianendom has expressed itself shocked and horrified at the demon spirit

manifested, can ever restore an harmonious Union—a Union of hands, a Union of hearts—a Union of States.

“What but principle, dearer than life, can embolden four millions of people, with a questionable population in their midst of equal number, what could induce them to brave the full power of twenty-four millions in immediate contact? It must be a principle, to maintain which, is worth more than all the harm your million of men authorized to be raised, can do them.

“They perceive in this war, or, what is tantamount, they believe they perceive, in this war, a purpose of subjugation of the most degrading character, such as is incompatible with the existence of honorable men, and I have no doubt the actions and purposes of these incomparable wretches, Sumner, Wilson & Co., are of a character which should render life undesirable, and these are the men who control public affairs, and who, linked with the Blairs, are fast driving this country into a collision with the great powers of Europe, whose condemnation of our course is most apparent. We place, ourselves, obstructions in the way of their prosperity, to an extent that will permit no forbearance, of every right they may contrive to be theirs. The three hundred million dollars raw material of cotton, tobacco, &c., sent to Europe, *when manufactured sells for over one thousand millions of dollars.* There is that temptation to Europe to find excuse to disregard our blockade. Other inducements, of not less import, might be mentioned.

“A peaceful adjustment and reunion would consign these infinitely wicked men to retirement, perhaps to a juster doom; and because they prefer power, their own safety, and the glutting of their own ignoble vengeance on the South, they furiously urge a war which will certainly cost us Union, besides entailing all the widespread, dread, and enduring evils of war.

“*I assert it, as a fact beyond contradiction, that full four-fifths of the American people would have had an harmonious Union under the Crittenden compromise, and that the responsibility of defeating it and of causing the war, rests wholly and solely upon the infamous conduct of these men.* The South distinctly expressed its willingness to accept the Crittenden compromise. The whole of the northern Democracy, the Bell-Everett party, and hundreds of thousands of Republicans—not Anti-Slavery—by petitions in countless numbers and in the strongest language of appeal and instruction, desired Congress to adopt it, or, at least, to allow the people themselves to pass upon it. Thus there were clearly four-fifths in favor of a measure which bore peace and healing on its wings. The fact that the South was willing to accept so small an evidence of northern good-will and remain in the Union, is conclusive evidence of its strong Union feeling. And yet *these men*, who have done all these wrongs, now again forbid the North and South communing peacefully, lest a Union should follow, with their inevitable disgrace, and probable destruction.

"The people have declined to swell the army. Let this silent voice teach the propriety of negotiations. If this still small voice of admonition be disregarded, a speedy, deep, lasting remorse will overtake us, beneath collisions with foreign powers.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

"W. H. WINDER.

"Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Washington.

"PHILADELPHIA, 10th SEPTEMBER, 1861."

On the 11th—immediately, no doubt, on its receipt—he telegraphed to the Marshal, who showed me the despatch—"Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette. W. H. Seward"—he then being ignorant that, on the *night of the 10th*, I had been arrested. On the morning of the 12th, learning of my previous arrest, he telegraphed again to the Marshal:—"Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette, New York, and deliver him into the custody of Colonel Martin Burke. Send the papers and evidence here. He is reported to have been arrested by detective Franklin. W. H. Seward, Sec. of State." The Mayor of Philadelphia, who furnished me with the above copy of the second despatch after my release, told me I was in error throughout in supposing I was imprisoned by General Cameron. He said it was Governor Seward's doings; and he added, the moment he had read the copy of my letter to Seward, he knew *that was the trouble*, and such I understood him was the conclusion to which others came who saw my papers, and concurrent testimony, from many sources, confirm this.

On the evening 10th, between 7 and 8 o'clock, I was arrested by detective Franklin, *put in a station-house cell*, and confined there all night. He showed me a warrant, issued by the Mayor of Philadelphia, induced by a despatch from General Andrew Porter, Provost Marshal of the city of Washington, directing it. When I was brought before Mayor Henry in the morning, he told me, in the presence of detective Franklin, that he had given him express orders not to arrest me that day unless he could do so before half past two o'clock, in order that I might have time conveniently to get bail. But this man chose *pur-*

posely to disregard this peremptory order, as I was at my office or hotel the whole day. He knew where to find me, but would not, his object being to prevent my being at large to interfere with his ransacking my office, from which, besides my papers relating to politics, he took books, pictures, also letters having no shadow of relation to politics, but referring to the most sacred secrets of other parties, these also, and many other things, were taken, wholly unjustifiably, even supposing the right of search to exist. I was arrested in the armory* of a company to which I was attached and taken to my chambers, my person there searched by detective Franklin, and my papers and all my keys taken from me, except the key of my office, which I held in my hand; my trunk, closets, &c., were searched, every scrap of paper taken, though not one of them in any manner referred to politics, as he saw by reading. After shutting me up in the station house, he proceeded to my office, broke open the door or picked the lock, and had an examination of my papers; for my clerk found a piece of candle in my room next morning when he went there, and other evidences of a night visit. He also found an officer there, who went on with the examination of my papers, &c. On leaving that day, Franklin told him he had better not come to the office, while they held possession. For about two weeks they held continued, exclusive possession, ransacking safe, chests, drawers, cases, &c., and a collection of papers of more than thirty years, violating the

* Under the excitement caused by the alleged marching of the Confederates upon the Capital, this and other companies were organized to resist a possible attack on this city, which it was supposed might be attempted, if the Capital should fall into Confederate hands. In its organization, in the most unqualified terms, it was declared that it was solely for the defence of the city of Philadelphia. Although I discredited in every way all rumors of any intended invasion, yet willing to show my readiness to perform all my duties as a citizen, and opposed alike to invasion by either party I joined this company; having thus manifested my purpose to do my whole duty, I claimed, and declared, on all proper occasions, my determination to exercise all the rights of a citizen. When, subsequently, a consultation was held, to see if the members would volunteer to go wherever ordered, I distinctly declined, on the ground of opposition to the war, and as the tender of the company never was made, I suppose that a large proportion of them declined,

sanctity of private correspondence during all that time, under pretence of hunting treasonable matter during the few months preceding. They allowed access to my private papers to reporters of newspapers, for the purpose of publication; and false, garbled, malicious slanders were published as the alleged contents of such letters. At the end of two weeks my clerk was allowed to take possession of the office; they, however, doubtless, holding keys for access at pleasure. They carried off letter-books, letters to me, copies of my letters, a large book having pasted in it extracts from newspapers of matter written by me. Among other letters, they stole copies of my letters to Cameron and Seward, and General Cameron's letter to me. They took my Army Dictionary and Navy Register, my Genealogical Tree, pictures and autograph letters. From so very large a collection of papers as I had, it is impossible for me to determine, with any certainty, the full amount of the robbery.

On the morning of the 11th September I was taken to the Mayor's office, when the Mayor told me that, on signing a bond for \$200 in my own recognizance to appear in October, he would discharge me. There was no charge made, no questions asked me, no testimony offered. I signed the bond, supposing there was an end of the matter, when to my surprise the Mayor said to me that, in compliance with the request of the United States District Attorney, I hand you over to the Marshal, whose deputy is here to take charge of you—he pointing to an individual present as the deputy—who immediately took charge of me, saying that I would have a hearing before the Commissioner that afternoon at four o'clock. In the meantime he confined me in Moyamensing prison. At four o'clock I was at the Commissioner's office, with my counsel, George W. Biddle Esq., for whom I had sent. At the opening, the District Attorney, Coffey, stated that they had been unable to procure the expected evidence, but that reports of my conversations had reached his ears, and he wished the hearing postponed until the 13th, at four o'clock, to give him time to hunt up such evidence. Notwithstanding this confession of destitution of evi-

dence to justify my arrest, and the flimsy pretext of hoping to hunt up reports of my conversations, the Commissioner, instead of discharging me, granted the delay, and recommitted me to Moyamensing, and the Marshal gave strict injunctions to allow no one from outside to see me, although several other State prisoners there confined were allowed to go about outside in the neighborhood.

On the afternoon of the 13th, at the time appointed, my counsel and I were at the office of the Commissioner. Attorney Coffey kept us waiting an hour before he made his appearance. This delay was, doubtless, designed to allow me no time to take out a writ of *habeas corpus* before I could be hurried off to New York, as had been determined on. On coming in, Attorney Coffey stated to the Commissioner that the paper which he held in his hand would render any further action before him unnecessary, and he desired my discharge by the Commissioner, in order that the directions in the paper, which he handed to the Commissioner, might be carried into effect. That paper *purported* to be a despatch from S. Cameron, Secretary of War, and was in these words :

“ WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 11, 1861.

“ GEORGE A. COFFEY, U. S. District Attorney :

“ Have telegraphed Marshal Milward to arrest Wm. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort Lafayette.

S. CAMERON, Secretary of War.”

The Marshal was present, but he produced to the Commissioner no despatch such as above referred to, and I have every reason to believe that he never received any such despatch.

Yet a District Attorney, upon this reputed telegraphic information that the Secretary had sent such an order, but which order he knew had never reached the Marshal, demanded of the Commissioner my release from his charge, in order that I might be incarcerated, upon the *sole* authority of a reputed telegraphic despatch that such an order had been telegraphed.

The Commissioner, without a word of comment, discharged the case.

It will be seen that the date of this *reputed* despatch from the Secretary of War, S. Cameron, is the 11th of September, *and received doubtless on that day*, and was probably the authority and inducement of Attorney Coffey to request the Mayor to turn me over to the Commissioner for examination. In expectation of being able to produce evidence giving such color to a charge as to authorize the Commissioner to bind me over for trial, Attorney Coffey said nothing about it at the hearing on the afternoon of the 11th, and, unwilling to abandon the prosecution, if such color of charge could be produced, he obtained a postponement until the afternoon of the 13th instant, at which time his hunt for criminatory evidence was barren of results. Although two days had elapsed since the receipt of the notification that S. Cameron had "telegraphed Marshal Milward to arrest W. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort Lafayette," *yet no such order was produced by Marshal Milward*. Notwithstanding this remarkable fact, the Attorney could reconcile it with his sense of duty, upon mere telegraphic report that an order had been issued, illegal even if issued, to propose to a United States Commissioner to join him in a violation of the rights of a citizen. It is well worthy of notice that no order, real or forged, of any kind, has ever been received by Marshal Milward from General Cameron, Secretary of War, for my imprisonment or arrest. They have no show or shadow of authority, save and except, the reputed despatch, produced by Attorney Coffey; and General Cameron, under his own hand, explicitly denies all knowledge of this one to Mr. Coffey. It was evidently a manufactured despatch. I wrote to a friend in Washington to call at the telegraph office and examine the original manuscript of this despatch, to see in whose handwriting it was, and who and by what authority such persons used the name of the Secretary of War to arrest persons in distant places, not only without the order of the Secretary of War, but without notifying him of such a purpose, and never reporting

the arrest after being made ; so that, the Secretary of War, in my case, seven months after my arrest and imprisonment under color of his name, was in entire ignorance of this fact. The reply to the inquiry at the telegraph office was, that if such a despatch had been sent from that office, the party bringing it to the office had waited until the message had been sent, and, as in all other such cases, had demanded and received back the written order—thus covering up the tracks of the forger, if forged, or concealing the author, whoever he might be. I was also informed that there was a parcel of wretches—some of them foreigners—in the office of the Provost Marshal, called detectives, who, either upon an assumed or general delegated authority, used the names of the Secretaries of War and of State, and that their acts were not overruled.

Instantly upon my discharge by the Commissioner, the Marshal told me I was to go to New York. He put me in a carriage he had waiting at the door, drove round to my rooms for me to get my trunk, and then drove down to the Market or Arch street wharf, where we crossed and walked down to the Camden and Amboy depot, to take seats in the train, with the passengers who were coming over the ferry from Walnut street wharf on the company's boat.

While in the carriage with me, in order to show, as he said, his consideration towards me, the Marshal took out of his pocket a despatch, and showed it to me. It was as follows :

“ WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 11, 1861.

“ Send Wm. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette.

“ W. H. SEWARD.”

He said he had had it in his possession several days (it was then the 13th) but had not used it. I saw instantly that it was the response to my letter of the 10th instant to him, and that the moment he had read it, with all the imperiousness of manner and all the amiability of purpose of Richard, he pronounced the doom, “ Off with his head ! So much for Buckingham ”—of which his despatch is a Republican despot's translation. At

this time Governor Seward had not learned of my arrest on the previous night. At the cars the Marshal confided me to the charge of two deputies, who accompanied me to New York, where they engaged a hack, and in it we were driven to Fort Hamilton, and with me, the deputies delivered to Colonel Burke the letter consigning me to his custody.

Colonel Burke sent me under escort to Fort Lafayette, to which place from Fort Hamilton I was taken in a row-boat.

The abominable treatment of prisoners in Fort Lafayette is too well known to require any notice in this statement. I early took occasion to write to an acquaintance, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with Governor Seward, requesting him to come and see me. He did come. I told him my profound ignorance of the cause of my arrest and imprisonment; that I knew no just cause existed, and that a proper examination, in my presence, would clearly establish this; that in regard to Governor Seward's despatch of the 11th September, though not used, it came so instantly upon the receipt of my letter by him, that it would seem to be justly attributed to it; and upon my stating how freely I had stated my views in it, this gentleman seemed to think there was no doubt of it. My object in wishing to see him was to request him to go to Washington and learn the cause of my arrest, and inform me. He promised to go and learn of Governor Seward, and to report to me, *if permitted*, the cause of my offence, if it should be other than the letter to which we both attributed Governor Seward's despatch. He promised me also to see Cameron. I told him then, in the most distinct terms, that I required an unconditional release—a release which, of itself, should perfectly vindicate me. He left me; and, never having corrected this assurance, I was confirmed in my opinion of the cause of Seward's despatch.

FORT LAFAYETTE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1861.

DEAR SIR: Believing that General Cameron and Governor Seward would be glad to find that no sufficient cause existed, even according to the policy marked out for their action, for my incarce-

ration in this Fort, I am so far induced to rely upon your consideration for me as to request of you a visit for the purpose of having a conversation with you. It will be necessary for you to get from Washington written permission to visit me. I will here simply state that I propose to say nothing to you which you are not at liberty to publish to the world, if need be.

In regard to the cause of my confinement, all that I have been able to learn is from the face of the warrant of the Mayor, on which my arrest was made, which alleges treasonable correspondence with the Confederates, "to overthrow the Government and seize upon the property of the United States."

In regard to correspondence with the Confederates, I can simply state that I have not, since 12th April, written a letter or sent a message to any one whatever in the South, nor have I received a letter or a message from any one. I have had no communication with the South whatever, except that I may have written one or two letters to the secretary of our mining company in North Carolina, (if so, copies of them are in my letter-book, which has been seized,) and two letters written, but not sent, because the Express Company had ceased, by order of Government, to take charge of letters for the South, but the letters themselves have been seized, and will speak for themselves. They are in reply to a letter from the secretary of our mining company, who said the State would probably confiscate our property in retaliation for the confiscation act of Congress. His letters are in possession of the Government. The above includes, I may say unqualifiedly, all the letters sent by or received by me, to or from any parties in the Confederate States or of the Confederate States. But, in order to simplify the whole matter, I will state, that unless a difference of opinion in regard to the policy of the Administration as to the best mode of securing the Union of all the States, be, to the Administration, just cause for incarcerating me, no cause for my confinement exists. But if that difference of opinion be cause for what has been done to me, then there does exist the most abundant cause. Claiming, as I do, an absorbing desire for a Union of hearts, a Union of hands, a Union of States, to a degree second to no man, I have not hesitated to present to others my views as to the surest and speediest mode of attaining this end, and to none have I more forcibly or more frankly, I might say so forcibly and so frankly, as I have done by direct communications to members of the Administration itself, in the hope that the Administration might thus be induced to give some heed, to what you may rely upon it, was and is, the earnest prayer of millions of Americans, not less anxious than the Administration itself to secure that Union which is the avowed purpose of its policy.

I will close by briefly stating, that, in the foregoing, will be found the length and breadth of any offence by me; and that, if there be

any seeming evidence of anything at variance with this, I pronounce it not authentic, however imposingly it may be presented, and that all such will dissolve and disappear in my presence.

With many apologies for a tresspass on your courtesy, which may subject you to much inconvenience,

I am, most truly, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

Hon. R. M. BLATCHFORD, New York.

FORT WARREN, JANUARY 6, 1862.

DEAR SIR: Some three months since, in the visit you were good enough to make me, in my confinement at Fort Lafayette, I made request that you would ascertain the cause of my arrest and confinement. I stated to you the tenor of a letter I had addressed to Governor Seward, and that, on the next day—the day of its reception by him—a despatch was sent to the Marshal of Philadelphia, in the following words: "Send W. H. Winder to Fort Lafayette. W. H. Seward." I understood you to promise that you would learn the cause; and if it should prove to be any other than the letter, to which you attributed the despatch, and you should be permitted to inform me, that you would do so. As I have not since had a line from you, I have concluded, as you did, that the letter of the 10th April was the offence which caused the despatch, and as I had nothing different to say I have made no effort to obtain release other than to ask an interview with Governor Seward upon it. The time is not far distant when a just interpretation of that letter will be made by Governor Seward, when right motives will be admitted as the cause of it, and true, and faithful, and friendly counsel place its contents, and its writer among the truest and most devoted Unionists. * * * in several letters intimated, on your authority, that the obstacle to my release was my objection to taking the oath, and thus it would seem I am made to be my own jailor. While I was glad to have seemingly such authentic information that such was the only obstacle to my release—(if wrongly advised in this please inform me)—I still think that a due consideration of the matter, with the light of passing events, will induce the conclusion that the best interests of the country, so far as I am concerned, will be most effectually subserved by my free discharge.—The signs of the times are portentous, and in a conflict with England my zeal and services would be as valuable as those of any other individual similarly circumstanced.

I have differed from the policy of the Administration, agreeing with the early expressed views of Governor Seward, and the wise warnings, at an early day, of Thurlow Weed. Had Governor Seward adhered to his convictions, so distinctly and so prophetically

declared, and when overborne in council had resigned, issuing a pronunciamiento of his own policy and difference from that of his co-ministers, and had returned to private life, how thoroughly would events have vindicated him, and how pre-eminently he would have loomed up, *the man of the times!* Would that he had done so, alike for his country as his own sake. The kindly personal feeling I then entertained towards him had inspired the wish that he should do it.

As I know you to be as solicitous for all that concerns Governor Seward as for yourself, I am still willing to believe that you retain confidence in my candor and motives. I have written you thus freely. My opinions, as hitherto expressed, are deepened by the current of events, which are simply the fulfilment of all that I have said.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

HON. R. M. BLATCHFORD, New York.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 9, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: I did speak to Mr. Seward about your case, but I did not write to you because I had nothing very satisfactory to communicate. I learned enough in Washington, however, to be sure that, if there was a disposition to release you, it certainly would not be done unless you took the oath of allegiance; and *that*, you remember, you were not willing to do. I did not inquire about the reason that led to your arrest, nor learn whether they were such as would now allow your release on your being willing to take the oath. I should be glad indeed to see you free again. And if you have changed your mind about the oath, I will write to Governor Seward in your behalf. That will bring him to the decision whether your further imprisonment is deemed necessary.

I am very truly, yours, &c.

R. M. BLATCHFORD.

On the 29th October we embarked on board the steamer State of Maine for Fort Warren. On 1st November, 1861, we entered that Fort, where no preparation whatever had been made for our reception. The rooms had not even a chair, and for about eight days we had nothing but the bare floors to lie on, over which we spread our overcoats, having neither bed nor blanket. Some few perfectly raw hams, in the open air, cut upon a barrel head, were distributed, and some of the prisoners thus got something to eat.

The commander, Colonel Dimick, it is only just to say, manifested throughout a disposition to grant every indulgence consistent with his instructions, and his whole course was in marked and favorable contrast with the fellows at Lafayette. I say this of him, though no one received less consideration at his hands than I, and I owe him nothing but the recollection that he acted courteously to all, whatever especial regard he may have shown to some.*

At Fort Lafayette it was a rule that we should require that no portions of our letters should be published, and the restrictions as to their contents were very rigid.

On the 5th December I addressed to Governor Seward the following letter, but to which no reply was ever received :

“ FORT WARREN, DECEMBER, 5, 1861.

“ To the Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State :

“ SIR : In accordance with your letter of instructions, read to the parties confined in this Fort, to address you directly in relation to their release, I proceed to do so, relying upon the implied assurance of your letter that these communications will receive your personal attention and reply.

“ I have been confined now nearly thirteen weeks, and during all that time I have been unable to learn of any charge whatever ; consequently I can only state that I am unconscious of word or act inconsistent with the character of a true American citizen, and hence I infer that my arrest did not emanate from the head of a Department, and that the names of such, when employed in this matter, were merely *pro forma*, without attention to, and probably without knowledge of, the document to which they were attached,

“ In this state of affairs I most respectfully submit to your consideration the propriety of allowing me, on parole, to visit Washington for the examination of my case, and I will add my conviction that a short

*I have some hesitation in mentioning the fact, that upon two occasions I wished to send sealed letters, stating to Lieut. Edw. R. Parry, who had supervision of all correspondence, that the contents were exclusively of a private character, and made no reference whatever to politics or to military operations, and unless he could let them pass sealed, I should not send them. Without a moments hesitation, Lieut. Parry assented, upon the assurance above given. I sincerely hope this acknowledgement of his courtesy will not bring upon him the displeasure of the Department.

interview will satisfy you of some error in my arrest and confinement, which have proved seriously detrimental.

"Should the granting the parole prove to be inconsistent with your purposes, I trust I shall not be disappointed in my expectation of receiving a statement of any charges against me, fully, specifically, and with all the evidence in the possession of the Department, together with the names of all parties making charges.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. H. WINDER."

On the 14th January I was offered release on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, which I declined. I had sought of Governor Seward, through several persons, for a temporary leave on parole, to attend to some important business, but in vain. Senator Pearce, of Maryland, among others to whom I had written to learn my imputed offence, and to get this temporary boon, in reply on 21st January, 1862, says: "Your frequent correspondence and bold conversation have made you obnoxious. I fear there is no influence—certainly I have none—to avail for your purpose"—(temporary absence on parole.) Again, on 2d February, he says: "With Mr. Seward I can do nothing. I saw him again yesterday, and he is as rigid as cast-iron." I wrote back, before we should be done with Seward, we would melt this cast-iron beneath a white heat. This "frequent correspondence" became known only after my arrest and the seizure of my papers.

On the 16th February I was again offered release on condition of taking the oath, which was denominated a modified oath. As I required an unconditional release, I refused. On 22d February the "amnesty" and "parole" were tendered as conditions of release. I refused for reasons stated in the following letter to the Secretary of War:

[Copy.]

FORT WARREN, 22d FEBRUARY, 1862.

I have been held in confinement in Forts Lafayette, N. Y., and Warren, Mass., without process or form of law, now more than five months, having been arrested in Philadelphia, my residence, from whence, by

order of Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, by telegraphic despatch, I was transferred to those distant points.

Immediately upon my arrest, in my absence, my office, desks, chests, &c., were all broken open, and all my papers, a collection of more than *thirty years*, ransacked, on pretence of hunting treasonable matter during the *few months* preceding; the sanctity of private correspondence was violated and malignantly calumniated, by the publication of pretended contents thus seized; other parties were grievously slandered by statement of falsely alleged contents, and I debarred of all opportunity to contradict such infamous publications. My letter-books, writings and letters are still in possession of public officials. Even pictures, twenty years old, found in my possession, were misrepresented to slander me. My correspondence, addressed to me at Philadelphia since my arrest, has been intercepted. I am to this hour in ignorance of the cause of my arrest and detention. Gov. Seward, Secretary of State, caused an order of his to be read to the prisoners, in which he stated that the employment of paid counsel would only have the effect of prejudicing the case of such parties, would be deemed an offence, and would occasion prolongation of imprisonment; his order required all applications to be addressed directly to him or through unpaid parties.

In accordance with this order, never having employed counsel, on the 5th Dec'r. last, I addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which referring to his order giving assurance that he would read and reply to our communications, I proceeded to state my long confinement, my ignorance of the causes therefor, and requesting permission to go to Washington for an investigation of my case, or for a statement of the charges against me, if any, the full testimony, and the names of my accusers, or else an unconditional discharge. To this hour no reply has been received.

My release was tendered me on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, &c. I declined to accept release upon conditions. A second time release was offered upon condition of taking the oath, which offer was accompanied by a letter of explanation from Gov. Seward, intended to remove objections, in stating that support of the Constitution did not include, necessarily, support of the individual members of the Executive. My objection being radical, applied to all tests or conditions which might be supposed to admit that I had done anything inconsistent with the character of a true American, and I, of course, declined this second offer of release.

In common with my fellow members of the company to which I was attached, I took an oath to support the Constitution, and I am still under its full responsibility. I am ready, in common with all others, on every proper and lawful occasion, to take it a thousand times. But as a discriminating test, imputing past and future intended wrong, it is not possible for me thus voluntarily to calumniate myself. The interior of Fort Warren, with the *mens sibi conscia recti*, is preferable to a release purchased at expense of character. So far from being willing thus to calumniate myself, I have challenged and do now challenge a comparison of record

of fidelity to the Constitution and its Union with all concerned in my arrest and detention, confident that the result will furnish none of them with cause for self-gratulation.

In this state of the case, the Secretary of War announces that the President will grant "amnesty" for past offences, and take "parole" against the commission of future ones, of all persons, "except spies in the service of the insurgents, or others, whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety."

Thus I should be turned loose, stained with an unnamed guilt of the past, supposed to be covered by the "amnesty," and the equally nameless guilt of the future averted by the "parole," allowing a censorious world to impute any wrongs it may please as being concealed beneath the cloaks of "amnesty" and "parole," to which, by my acceptance, I would give, at least, a *quasi* admission, and certainly would leave upon myself the color of guilt, without power of vindication against such imputation.

The "spies" and others, whose liberation "may be deemed incompatible with the public safety," will have, probably, the opportunity for a perfect vindication, while those favored with "amnesty" and "parole" will stand forever beneath those clouds.

It would seem to be an exquisite aggravation of the original wrong, which the order admits and purports to remedy and correct. The wrong done was illegal incarceration without charge; the redress now proposed is to confess that wrong has been done and to receive "amnesty" therefor; to acknowledge intention to do future wrong, and then give "parole" to forego such intention.

The condition, in a Northern State, of a man accepting "amnesty" or giving "parole," would be a confession of guilt, bearing in its train intolerable consequences.

For these reasons, and many others which naturally present themselves, and would be stated if necessary, the undersigned hopes the Secretary of War will find it consistent with his duty to reinstate him at home to his original position before arrest.

If there be any charge of crime, I am ready to meet it. If there be none, I trust the Secretary will see that to impose conditions on me as the price of my liberation is to aggravate the wrong which will then stand confessed.

It might be simple justice alike to the Administration as to prisoners, to have the informers who misled the Department exposed to view and to just punishment.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. WINDER,

Hon. E. B. STANTON, Sec. of War,
Washington.

On 15th March I opened a correspondence with General Cameron, to ascertain the charges and the accuser, which had induced him to send me to Fort Lafayette. It follows, and will explain itself:

FORT WARREN, 15th MARCH, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON,

SIR—It was by your order, through Telegraphic Despatch, that I was taken from Philadelphia to Fort La Fayette and placed in confinement there, from whence I was transferred to this Fort in which I am confined, still ignorant of the cause which induced you to issue that order.

The object of my writing this letter is to obtain from you information, at whose instance and upon what representations you were influenced to the issue of the order for my confinement in Fort La Fayette. I believe I do not err in supposing the order could not have been of your own motion, but was upon the statement of party or parties who ought not and whom you supposed would not mislead you. I trust that my reliance on your readiness to afford me the information will not prove delusive. I feel myself entitled to this consideration at your hands, and am unwilling to doubt your inclination to accord it to me.

I am, Resp'y, Your Ob't Servant,

W. H. WINDER.

LOCHIEL, 24 MARCH, 1862.

W. H. WINDER, Esq.

SIR,—You surprise me by saying in your letter of the 15th inst., received to-day, that it was by my order that you were taken from Philadelphia to Fort La Fayette, and placed in confinement, &c.

I knew nothing of your arrest until I saw the fact stated in the newspapers, and being at the time closely engaged in the discharge of my official duties, neglected to inquire into the cause; presuming, however, that it was done by order of the State Department, which has charge of such cases as I presumed yours to be.

Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON.

FORT WARREN, March 31, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg.

SIR,—I have to thank you for your prompt reply to my request for information as to the causes which induced you to issue an order for my transfer to Fort La Fayette. Your reply of the 24th, stating your surprise at learning I had been sent there by your order, and that you

knew nothing of my arrest until you saw it in the papers, and presumed it had been done by order of the State Department, confirms me in my supposition that your name had been used either without your knowledge, or inadvertently signed to a paper without heeding its contents. It was obtained somehow through the District Attorney.

I give you a copy of the document upon which Col. Burke took charge of me and placed me in Fort La Fayette.

“ Lt. Col. Martin Burke, Com’g Fort Hamilton.

Philada, Sep. 13, 1861.

Dear Sir,—Permit me to introduce to you my Deputy Mr. Sharkey, who carries with him Mr. Winder to be delivered to your custody per order of Secretary of War.

Your ob’t serv’t.

WM. MILLWARD, U. S. Marshal.”

I am respectfully,

Your ob’t ser’t.

WM. H. WINDER.

FORT WARREN, 31 MARCH, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg,

SIR,—Since writing you to-day I have received the following copy of despatch from Philadelphia.

“ 65

WASHINGTON, 11 SEP. 1861.

GEO. A. COFFEY, U. S. District Attorney.

Have telegraphed Marshal Millward to arrest Wm. H. Winder, and transfer him to Fort La Fayette.

S. CAMERON, Sec’y War.”

I have supposed this may recall to your mind the communication of Mr. Coffey, to which, apparently, it is a reply.

I am respectfully, your ob’t ser’t,

W. H. WINDER.

LOCHIEL, 2 APRIL, 1862.

W. H. WINDER, Esq.

SIR.—I have enclosed your letter of 31st, received to-day, to the Secretary of State, and disavowed all knowledge of your arrest, with request for your release if you have been held by my direction.

Very Respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON.

FORT WARREN, 5th APRIL, 1862.

HON. SIMON CAMERON, Lochiel, near Harrisburg.

SIR,—I have been much gratified by the receipt of your letter of 2d April, in which you advise me of your having sent my (first) letter of 31 March to the Secretary of State, with request for my release if I have been held by your direction.

This is satisfactory, and is all the action the case requires at your hands, unless, indeed, a disregard of your request, should render it proper for your own vindication against an act which you repudiate, but the responsibility for which is placed on your name, by the record.

Your obd't. serv't,

W. H. WINDER.

On the 6th May I was summoned into the presence of the Commissioners, Dix and Pierpont. General Dix sought, by argument, to remove my objections to giving my parole, contending that doing so could not properly be construed into taint upon my conduct. I gave my reasons on the other side, that if no taint was intended, and it was as he said, and it was their object to hold me guiltless, an unconditional discharge would leave no doubt of an entire acquittal, while to hold me there, admittedly guiltless of wrong, except on condition of parole, was without excuse. General Dix specified, as the exceptionable items, my correspondence with Senators Davis, Toombs, and Breckenridge, Burnett, Vallandigham, and Hallock, of the Journal of Commerce. I took issue with him upon them, in the manner stated in my letter of 9th May to these gentlemen.

The secretary, Webster, said I had received treasonable letters from C. H. Winder, Washington; but on my objecting to the word treasonable, General Dix directed him to strike out the word from his notes.

General Dix said I knew that the war, to which I was opposed, was forced upon the Federal Government by an impending attack on the Federal Capitol. In reply to this, I begged the attention of the Commissioners to the facts I should state, and challenged them to controvert the correctness of any one of them. I denied *in toto* the fact or purpose of an impending

capture of Washington. I stated that the Confederacy had not a soldier within five hundred miles of the city of Washington; that not a single soldier had been set in motion to proceed there; that the States of North Carolina and Virginia interposed their whole breadth between the city of Washington and the Confederacy; that the first had refused to call a convention even to consider the question of secession, and that two-thirds of the convention of the latter were opposed to secession; that, in fact, there did not exist a scintilla of evidence that the Confederacy entertained the purpose, much less had forces in imminent proximity hastening to the capture, except the solitary drunken declaration of Mr. Walker. I stated that, notwithstanding the zeal with which evidence of this purpose had been sought, none had been, none could be obtained of what had no existence.

To all this General Dix had nothing to urge but that *he believed* that in Virginia, Mason and others were raising troops for that purpose. He acquitted Hunter, as being a mere "doctrinaire," as he called him, from any active participation.

And thus in justification of this frightful war, all that could be advanced was *an opinion* that in Virginia, (not in the Confederacy) against which *alone* was charged a purpose to take the city, and against which this army was to act, *somebody* was raising troops with this intention; and yet to this hour they have been unable to find this somebody, or a single fact to support the charge.

I stated, in regard to the relative position of the State and Federal Governments, that the resolutions of 1798-'99 embodied my opinions. The Secretary (Webster) greedily snatched at this statement, as though he had pinned me with conclusive evidence of treason, and I noticed a day or two afterwards, in a Republican paper in Boston, a bitter article, denouncing these resolutions as the cockatrice egg from which the monster secession was hatched.

On 9th May I addressed to Messrs Dix and Pierpont the following letter, which will explain itself, and refutes the card of

those gentlemen, published in the New York papers of November :

“FORT WARREN, MAY 9, 1862.

“To Major-General JOHN A. DIX and Judge PIERPONT,

“Commissioners appointed by the War Department for the examination of political prisoners:

“GENTLEMEN : When General Dix told me the Commission would consider the reasons urged by me for an unconditional release, I supposed I should learn the result before your departure from this Fort.—Not having heard from you, and reading in the papers the announcement of your leaving Boston for New York, I have supposed that it may be your purpose to refer the matter for decision to the Department. In such case I deem it proper, in justice to myself, that a more full record of what I said than the meagre notes of your Secretary furnish, should accompany the statement of my case. I have, therefore, to request that this further statement of what transpired may be placed with the other papers.

“In appearing before you, at your summons, I was told that my offence was “my correspondence with various parties, and my writings for the newspapers,” and you wished to know what I had to say.

“I stated that this offence became known only *after* my arrest and the seizure of my papers. And in regard to that correspondence and those writings, I had to say that loyalty and devotion to the Constitution breathed from them throughout as inseparably as fragrance from the rose. That if any charge of crime could be founded on them, I was ready to meet such charge. If no charge of crime could be construed from them, and yet the writings and correspondence should be deemed amenable to censure, I challenged their publication entire as the ground of my confinement, and should desire no more perfect vindication than their publication would afford me.

“The Secretary interposed, saying that although the writings did profess devotion to the Constitution, yet they opposed the war. I stated that my conviction of the propriety of the course advocated by me in all these writings had been deepened by subsequent events, and that I adhered to them still. That nevertheless, in my difference from the Administration I had violated no law, nor in any way had done anything inconsistent with the character of a true American. It was true I had assailed unsparingly the Abolition element in the Republican party ; that I did so now, and ever would anathematize it.

“I further stated, very distinctly, that I had written to the Secretaries of War and of State, (and referred the Commission to the letters which were in their possession,) in which I had, in the strongest and most explicit manner, given my views, entirely in consonance with all my writings and correspondence. These letters were sent prior to my

arrest. And I stated that Government, and I presumed the Commission also, were in possession of the reply of one of these Secretaries, who stated that, notwithstanding my uncompromising difference from the Administration, he had none the less confidence in my loyalty and patriotism. I also produced and left with the Commissioners a copy of correspondence with the late Secretary of War, (General Cameron,) in which he disavowed all knowledge of my arrest and confinement, made in his name, and in which he stated he had so written the State Department, and requesting my release. My reply to Secretary Stanton's offer of "amnesty" and liberation on "parole," the Commission had, as General Dix said.

"I referred to my reasons given in this reply for refusing a conditional release. I stated that I had challenged a comparison of record of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union with all concerned in my arrest and imprisonment; and that again in their presence I repeated the challenge, confident of a favorable result.

"I denied *in toto* that there was anything in the writings to which objection was made, which is inconsistent with the truest patriotism and truest loyalty to the Constitution and its Union. I stated my belief that, now, every one, except the Abolitionists, must admit that it would have been wiser to have yielded the modicum which would have satisfied the South and have retained the Union, than was the course pursued in creating a debt of thousands of millions of dollars, with all the horrors of the gigantic war, which, even if successful, could not establish the Union so favorably as it would have continued if such counsels and measures as I sustained had been adopted.

"I could find no language too strong to express my abhorrence of the Abolition influences allowed to prevail under the present Administration.

"With this statement, which please file with the other papers, I await result, while I mean, in no manner whatever, to admit the legality of the tribunal'.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. H. WINDER."

I subjoin the following letter of Messrs. Dix and Pierpont, taken from the New York Herald of 19th November, 1862; with this and the foregoing letter, the reader may judge between us. I challenged them to a public issue, by a publication of the seized papers. They declined the issue. With the disavowal of "the late Secretary of War" of all knowledge of my arrest, and his request for my release in their possession, they allege I was arrested "by order of the late Secretary of War." It is for those gentlemen to explain this contradiction.

To what "official of high eminence," or, "in answer to your (what?) inquiry," I am left in the dark; but the presumption would seem to be that "the official of high standing" was desirous of placing on "the late Secretary of War" the responsibility of an arrest and imprisonment which he disavowed, and had requested of "an official of high eminence" my release.

It is due to those gentlemen to say that their examination was made courteously; and I certainly understood General Dix, the spokesman, distinctly, to say, while urging me to give "parole," that it would afford no countenance whatever to a supposition derogatory to my integrity as a true American. I therefore interpret the intimation of disloyalty in their card to be that of the imprisoning official, and not theirs. If theirs, then let them establish it:

"THE CASE OF W. H. WINDER.

"The following letter to an official of high eminence will explain the matter:

"NOVEMBER 12, 1862."

"DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry as to the facts of the case of Wm. H. Winder, a prisoner of State in Fort Warren, we reply that, on investigation, it appeared that Winder was arrested by order of the late Secretary of War; that a large number of letters and papers were seized, tending to show disloyalty to the Government, and a purpose to aid the rebellion. But after careful investigation of all the papers, and after a personal examination of Mr. Winder, we determined to release him on his giving his parole not to take up arms against the United States, or to give aid to the enemy, which he refused; and, as we are advised, there has been no day since when he might not have freely left the Fort upon that simple parole.

"Very respectfully yours,

"JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

"EDWARDS PIERPONT."

Again, in August, 1862, I addressed the following letter to Mr. Stanton, of which no notice was ever taken:

[Copy.]

"To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Sec. of War, Washington :

"FORT WARREN, 20th AUGUST, 1862.

"SIR : More than eleven months have elapsed since my arrest and the seizure of all my papers. During the last six months of this confinement my clerk has been sick and absent from the city, so that I have not had a word from him, and my affairs, already most damagingly embarrassed, are threatened with a more complete ruin.

"At the present moment my personal attention is vitally important to the carrying into effect some proposed arrangements in relation to my affairs, and for this purpose I desire a leave of absence from this Fort for thirty days.

"In order to obviate any hesitation which might arise, I will state my readiness to give parole not to engage in political or military discussions, also to report myself to the commanding officer of this Fort within thirty days from the date of my leaving it.

"As numerous parties, confined with me, have had this leave after only a few months' imprisonment, I trust it is no misplaced reliance by me to anticipate a like consideration.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"W. H. WINDER, of Philadelphia,"

On 5th October Messrs. George W. Biddle, W. B. Reed, and P. McCall arrived in Boston to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*. Mr. Biddle telegraphed to the Secretary of War for permission to see me, and received a peremptory refusal. Thus I was refused access to counsel, while other prisoners had been allowed visitors, and at that very time seven friends of prisoners were daily visitors at Fort Warren.

On the 29th October my counsel applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the issue of which was delayed to enable the District Attorney to receive instructions from Washington. If the Administration relied upon Mr. Binney's argument and authority to suspend the *habeas corpus*, the District Attorney would have received instructions to oppose the issue, or plead this right. If not sure on that point, and it had any evidence of guilt, legal or moral, on my part, which would secure public condemnation, and palliate the outrage on the Constitution and law, by a too eager but manifestly patriotic impulse, it would have adduced

it. But discarding Mr. Binney's argument as unsound, and destitute of the other, it aggravated its wickedness by imposing upon the commander at Fort Warren the dirty part of sneaking from the just action of the law, and resisting, with the military, the rightful action of the Court. The commander of the Fort thus became, in fact, legally the prisoner of one whom he illegally held in prison, for he dared not leave the walls of Fort Warren. Thus the Administration wantonly presented the spectacle of using military force in Massachusetts to prevent, to defeat the regular operations of the civil law.

The following letter to *my counsel* was not allowed to pass, but was returned as contraband, and following it is the letter to Colonel Dimick :

“ FORT WARREN, OCTOBER 31st, 1862.

“ HON. GEO. S. HILLARD, Boston.

“ DEAR SIR : In a note this day received from Mr. Biddle, referring me to the papers for the proceedings on the application for a writ of Habeas Corpus in my behalf, I am made acquainted with your indefatigable professional efforts in the case, for which I take this early occasion to make my earnest acknowledgements, reserving a more suitable manifestation until after my release.

“ Will it not seem a strange thing to sensible men in their calm moods, that there can be any good reason why I was not arrested and prosecuted according to law, if I had offended the law ; or that there can be an offence, not in violation of the law, yet of a character so heinous as to justify the violation of the most cardinal provisions and principles of the Constitution and the laws ; and even supposing this possible, that it should be necessary to keep the offence a secret for fourteen months ;—and further, to preplex simple minds, that during that time the offending party should have been offered his release no less than four times—twice on condition of taking the oath of allegiance, and twice on parole ; and to cap the climax, that the party charged with such offence should, persistently, refuse a release except on terms that should acquit him and self-condemn his accusers as being the genuine malefactors.

“ It would seem to me that with all, except lunatics from “ Negro on the Brain,” and those who have the dollar so close to their eyes as to be able to see nothing else, this and similar cases present much for reflection on the dangers which hang imminent over all.

“ Mr. Biddle added in his note, “ we hope the time may soon come when your enlargement will take place.” I am at some loss to guess whether he refers to the battering ram which the elections are about to apply, or to that earlier discretion so much applauded by honest Sir John.

To suppose that it will come from any motive likely to influence sensible men and statesmen, is to fly in the face of all past experience.

"The Republican papers, *passim*, contend that there is a *lex non scripta* which, whenever the Administration feels its withers wrung, authorizes the punishment of the authors thereof "by consignment to military custody."

"I am, most respectfully and most truly yours, &c.

W. H. WINDER.

Upon return of this letter, I addressed to Col. Dimmick the following :

"FORT WARREN, 1st NOVEMBER, 1862.

"SIR: Yesterday you refused to let pass a note to my Counsel in Boston, unless all of its contents should be expunged, except the paragraph making my acknowledgements of his professional services.

"I, therefore, deem it due to myself to call your attention to the following facts—

"1.—That my confinement in Fort La Fayette was under an alleged order of the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, and that there is on the record no other authority for my confinement there and here.

"2.—That you are perfectly aware that Gen. Cameron denied all knowledge of my arrest, repudiating the act, because the whole of my correspondence with him on this subject, passed through your hands open and under your perusal.

"3.—You know perfectly well that an imprisonment here under order of a Department, without charge, warrant and other form of law, would be a clear violation of the rights of a citizen under the Constitution and the laws, subjecting the violators to a penalty.

"4.—You know that the record does not show even the color of that authority.

"5.—You know how stringently the law prohibits the opening of letters of other parties, even if lawfully in custody.

"6.—You know full well the unquestionable right of all citizens to have counsel, and to confer with them alone and by sealed letters, even though legally in custody, under charge of the most serious crime.

"7.—You know that I have sedulously sought to learn if there was any charge of crime against me, declaring my readiness to meet any such.

"8.—You know that no charge of crime has been made against me.

"9.—You know that for the express purpose of forcing a lawful issue on the question of my incarceration here, a Writ of Habeas Corpus was issued addressed to you.

"10.—You know that you diligently and designedly thwarted the

process of the Court, preventing by threatened force its service upon you, evading your just responsibility to the law.

"10.—You know full well that in accordance with the Constitution and the laws, it was your bounden duty, as a good citizen and officer, to allow the service of the writ, and to obey its summons.

"If to your knowledge, or in your opinion, I have erred in any of the above, I beg your prompt correction, as it would cause me great regret to have misrepresented you in any manner, but on the contrary, I will rejoice at any explanation which may relieve you of what now seems to be your responsibility.

"If I have not erred, then the deductions from the foregoing would seem to be clear—that knowing that I have been feloniously incarcerated and that there is no warrant or lawful authority for my detention, you nevertheless continue to hold me in custody, an abettor.

"That with full knowledge of the law in regard to opening letters, you aggravate its daily breach, by refusing to allow us to receive or to send freely our letters.

"That knowing, as you do, the undoubted right of every citizen to appeal to the law for relief against illegal restraint, you have, by force and design, resisted and defeated the solemn efforts of the law, because you knew you held me in unlawful confinement; and excluded from personal interview, as my counsel have been, you suppress a letter which is addressed to my counsel and exclusively confined to such views of my case as I wish presented to him.

"I now protest against any interposition between me and my counsel by you, and, indeed, against your keeping me here; and I demand of you the evidence of any authority whatever, real or pretended, except the physical force of your soldiers, for holding me a prisoner—for opening and reading all my letters to and fro, and for suppressing all that are distasteful.

"If you have the means to justify yourself, I shall certainly receive such an answer; if you can find none to justify you, I would suggest that you would adopt such a course as will find its justification in the Constitution and the laws which you have sworn to support on penalty of perdition if you prove false to them.

"Respectfully yours,

"W. H. WINDER.

"Col. JUSTIN DIMICK."

FORT WARREN, NOVEMBER 17, 1862

DEAR SIR: I find my mind so importunately beset by most distressing reflections upon the course which you, and too many others, have taken in relation to the emancipation proclamation, and the orders already issued for instant action, intended to secure its

instant accomplishment in the most horrid form, that I cannot resist giving them expression.

While professing indignation at its purpose, and declaring the proclamation to be clearly unconstitutional in fact, you and others nevertheless prove false to the Constitution and to humanity, and aid the unconstitutional measure most effectually, by lulling watchfulness and smothering action with the syren songs of "*brutum fulmen*" and "a Pope's Bull against the Comet."

If you really be in earnest in your belief in its unconstitutionality and injustice, it would seem you should show it in some efficient manner. For if it be unconstitutional and improper, it is your duty, as it is of all loyal to the Constitution, of all professing loyalty to Christianity, to denounce and to oppose, by all legal and honorable means, all steps manifestly tending and intended to accomplish this unconstitutional measure.

Most especially should you denounce all those orders, which, on penalty of dismissal in such disgrace as is in the power of the official, require army officers to aid negroes in obtaining freedom, forbidding them to interfere in any attempt which the negroes may make to free themselves.

A Lieutenant Johnson, of Kentucky, deeply impressed with the unconstitutionality of the proclamation policy, tendered his resignation rather than violate his oath to support the Constitution. For this he was instantly *put in irons* and sent to jail. Being resolute, he again tendered his resignation, for which he was, in the language used, dismissed the service disgracefully, in presence of the army, his shoulder-straps and insignia of office rudely torn from his person!!! This is the treatment for fidelity to one's oath to support the Constitution and to defend it. What a spectacle!

The sworn conservators of the Constitution issuing proclamations subversive of the Constitution and revolting to Christianity, manacled in irons, and disgracing, so far as they can disgrace anybody, an officer for tendering his resignation rather than become a *particeps* in an outrage upon the Constitution. The case of Lieutenant Johnson, as reported, is even more flagrant and calls for deeper damnation than that of Mrs. Brinsmade.

Why are you, and the other "*brutum fulmen*" syrens, silent upon this case of Lieutenant Johnson, and upon the orders issued in consequence? The New York Times of the 14th, in a special despatch, says information having been received by the War Department that certain military commanders have been returning fugitive slaves from within our lines, to *loyal* as well as rebel masters, and the Secretary has ordered a report of the cases to be made to the Department, *in order that the officers may be duly punished.*

Why don't you publish again General Butler's reply to Governor Andrew's lecture to him upon similar proceedings? You en-

dorsed that letter at the time as a fitting rebuke, and so did the nation generally. Give us the letter.

Why don't you boldly and openly sustain all who maintain and sustain the Constitution! Why not proclaim to the army and navy that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land?

When, by your course, and that of other "*brutum fulmen*" syrens, the horrors of a servile war shall aggravate the desolation of the South, mortally embittering hatred without securing subjugation or Union—Union with murderers alike of the Constitution as of women and children—what a Union is offered *thus* to the South—a fraternity of the "Massachusetts School," will you be able, in that dread day to find syren songs which will lull your awakened conscience?

Why not act consistently with your declarations of the unconstitutionality of the proclamation and of a desire to restore a fraternal Union? Will it weaken the North at home, or disgrace it abroad, for you and others to take all necessary steps to avert the disgrace abroad and the horrors at home of its enactment?

With the thunder of the popular voice, let the lightning of its will strike all who lay sacrilegious hands upon that ark of our security, the Constitution.

I look upon the imprisonment of all State prisoners, indeed upon their summary execution, though all be pure as was Washington, as a light crime in comparison with the proclamation policy.

How the papers teemed, at one time, with denunciations of an emancipation policy, universally scouting the idea as a monstrous slander, and they and the army vied with each other in giving assurance that, whenever an emancipation policy should be announced, that the whole army would refuse to act, and would lay down their arms. Can't you publish some of the many thousand assurances so vehemently given?

The sins of this war are already a sufficient stench in the nostrils of nations. Shall this country, by the adoption of the proclamation policy, attach to itself an inextinguishable odor of infamy?

Very respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

Hon. JAMES BROOKS, New York.

Respectfully returned as being contrary to instructions of Col. Dimick.

By order of Col. Dimick.

EDWARD R. PARRY,

1st Lieut. 11th Infantry,

Post Adjutant,

COL J. DIMICK, Commanding Fort Warren.

SIR :—I have had returned to me by Mr. Parry, the accompanying letter to the Hon. James Brooks, a member elect of Congress, which he refuses to send. I have supposed it may have been returned in ignorance of that fact.

A refusal to allow Mr. Brooks to receive it, is no less an insult to him, than it is an unmitigated tyranny and defiance of law. It is to charge Mr. Brooks with incapacity or indisposition to act rightly upon its suggestions.

In view, therefore, of the fact, that Mr. Brooks has been elected a member of Congress, is a public man, upon his responsibility as such, I again deposit the letter to be sealed and forwarded to its destination, believing it has been returned in ignorance of that fact. The violations of our rights sufficiently abound, without excluding us from communications with members of Congress.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

November 17th, 1862.

The enclosed letter to Honorable James Brooks, written by Mr. Winder, was respectfully returned to him as contrary to my instructions to allow to pass. He re-endorsed it to me with this letter. I refer the matter to the Department, that the letter may reach its destination, if there be no objection to it.

Fort Warren, Nov. 18, 1862.

The above is a copy of Col. Dimick's remarks on Mr. Winder's letter to him, on referring it with Hon. James Brooks' letter to Adjutant-General's Department.

Respectfully forwarded to Mr. Winder, by order of Col. Dimick.

EDWARD R. PARRY,

1st Lieut. 11th Infantry, Post Adjutant.

Nov. 18, 1862.

FORT WARREN, NOVEMBER 18, 1862.

HON. JAMES BROOKS, New York.

DEAR SIR :—I yesterday deposited in the mail box a letter to your address. It was returned by Lieut. Parry refusing to send it. Supposing that he and Col. Dimick might not be aware of your having been elected a member of Congress, I again deposited it with a note conveying that information, and that as a public man on your responsibility you were entitled to receive it and treat it as you should think it deserved at your hands. To-day I am informed

that Col. Dimick, without authority from me has assumed the responsibility of sending my note and letter to you to the office of the Adjutant-General, to be sent to you or not, as the Department may see fit. This is the second letter to you they have refused to send.

I deemed it proper to give these facts for your government. Will you be good enough to acknowledge receipt of this, that I may know you have got it. It seems our very utterance is to be suffocated.

Respectfully, yours,

W. H. WINDER.

The Department did *not* send the letter to Mr. Brooks.

To cap the climax, only a few short days after the soil of Massachusetts had been made the theatre for this shameful outrage upon the laws of the land, every prisoner was released unconditionally, without even the stain of a charge! We owed this release mainly, no doubt, to the "battering-ram" of the ballot-box. We gladly left Fort Warren, and would that we could leave behind the recollections of the injustice endured within its walls, and forget that, among other repulsive exhibitions, we saw the entire garrison marching around, with the officers at its head, singing "Old John Brown!" Col. Dimick, it is due to him to state, was in Boston at the time.

The Administration will find that, from the seeds of despotism it has so liberally sown, it will, in the not distant future, reap a heavy harvest of unavailing repentance.

The State and War prisoners were mixed up promiscuously. The writer had eight war prisoners in the room with him, who were the more favored, for they had the liberty of the whole island, while the State prisoners were restricted to the square within the walls of the Fort, until after the visit of Messrs. Dix and Pierpont.

The whole intercourse of the writer with the war prisoners confirmed his deepest conviction that the sin and responsibility of the alienation of the sections and the consequent war, rests upon the "Massachusetts school," and that is so set down by the

Recording Angel. It is but justice, perhaps, to this "Massachusetts school," to admit that some allowance should be made for its negro-mania, when we recollect that both sprang from the womb of the "May Flower," which spawned upon our shores, alternately, a batch of puritans and a batch of negroes. This consideration, by the puritan, for his ebony foster-brother is natural, if not commendable; for it is not strange that, having a common parentage, the puritan should claim for both a common destiny; and to secure this identity is the labor of love of the "Massachusetts school," which repudiates, in the common territory, association with the *white* of the *South*, but invites, by law, intermarriage of the puritan with the *negro* of the *South*, in accordance with that truthful maxim enunciated by John Quincy Adams, that "the natural gravitation of affinity will bring about the only Union that can be enduring;" and where is there more perfect knowledge of Puritan affinity than with the "Massachusetts school," which, in removing the obstacles to a loving union between Dinah and Barebones, well entitled itself to the honor of the negro toast to Greeley—"he got white skin, but he got black heart." All due honor to the "Massachusetts school."

If Massachusetts, which *now* claims to be foremost with the sword to defend the Constitution and to re-establish Union, were to strike first, the criminal most responsible for the violation of the one and the disruption of the other, can any one doubt that such a blow would be the suicide of Massachusetts?

Might not the inquiry be safely extended, and ask, if the promoters and abettors of the war for Abolition were to follow this example, which Massachusetts ought to give, would it not clear the land of disunionists, and thus restore both the Union and the Constitution? Our life upon it, only let them try it. If they be actuated by the devotion of Curtius, now is their chance; let them plunge into the dividing gulf, which, closing over them, may once more unite the North and South.

The assumptions and doctrines of the Republican party are simply these: That any party, avowing principles and purposes

violative or subversive of the Constitution, by the establishment of a monarchy, despotism, Abolitionism, or any similar outrage, nominating a candidate for the Presidency, and its nominee being elected, even by a plurality of barely one-third of the popular vote, that nevertheless such election is a sufficient sanction and confirmation of its avowed policy and purpose, as to authorize it to carry them into execution; and that any State or parties resisting or withdrawing shall be forcibly coerced into submission; for which purpose, the Executive may command the purse and the sword with unlimited power, and set aside the Constitution and the laws of the Federal and State Governments, and all that interferes with any action which he may see fit to adopt. In view of the conduct and avowals of the party, through its recognized leaders, this statement is not too strong nor too broad. And yet we are told there is no remedy but to permit the Executive and Congress to have full and undisturbed sway until the end of their terms, as if the end of the Executive term ever would come under this license. Freemen! the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, AND RESOLUTE ACTION!

Immediately on my release, I proceeded to Washington, to get back my papers from Mr. Seward. The following will give the history of the matter:

(Copy.)

HON. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State:

SIR:—At the request of Wm. H. Winder, Esq., one of my constituents, I would ask the return to him of his books, letter-books, letters, papers, and a picture of John C. Calhoun, taken from Mr. Winder's office and domicil, in Philadelphia, at the time of his arrest in that city, in September, 1861. These effects are now in the custody of Mr. Webster, of your department, as Mr. Winder is informed. An early reply will oblige him, and,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHAS. J. BIDDLE.

H. of R., Dec. 9, '62.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington Dec. 10, 1862.

The Honorable CHARLES J. BIDDLE,

House of Representatives.

SIR:

Your letter of the 9th instant has been received, and referred to the War Department.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

F. W. SEWARD,

Assistant Secretary.

(Copy.)

(Delivered on 22d, Reply received on the 23d.)

SIR:

I learned from the Mayor of Philadelphia, that my books, letters, papers, etc., had been sent to you, by your order, (copy of which he showed to me,) by Detective Franklin, who took receipt for them. I learned this from several parties who had interviews with you, and that they were under special charge of Mr. Webster, of your Department, who acted as Secretary to Messrs. Dix and Pierpont.

Under this state of affairs, I feel that I have a right to claim of you their return, for, wherever they may be, they are attainable by you.

I do, therefore, now demand of you the immediate return of *all my books, papers and letters, and whatever else of mine which may have been sent to you.*

I look to you, personally, for their return, and trust that, recognizing the propriety of my demand, you will take the necessary steps to put me promptly in possession of them.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. H. WINDER.

HON. WM. H. SEWARD.

Washington, 22d Dec. 1862.

(Received Dec. 23—Answered Dec. 23.)

Mr. Seward presents his compliments to Mr. Winder, and has to inform him that his note of this date has been referred to the proper officer, Major L. C. Turner, Associate Judge Advocate of the Army.

Department of State, 22d Dec., 1862.

(Original left by C. H. W., at State Department.)

WASHINGTON, 23 DECEMBER, 1862.

SIR:—I acknowledge the civility of your early reply to my note of yesterday, requesting of you the return of my books, letters, papers, etc., which by your order were forwarded from Philadelphia.

You state in your note, that my note to you of same date (22d inst.) has been referred to Major L. C. Turner, Judge Advocate of the Army. If this reference has been accompanied by such instructions from you as will cause the early return of what I have claimed, it will be satisfactory. If it be intended as notice to me to transfer my application to that officer, I beg leave, respectfully, to submit the following to your candid consideration.

I was arrested at night, taken to my lodgings, my trunks, drawers, closets, &c., ransacked, and every paper found taken by the officers, who, also, took from my person, papers and keys; then I was taken to a station house, and thrust into a vile hole, in which I was kept all night, the officers meanwhile visiting my office, forcing doors and all my desks, chests, etc., and overhauling my papers. My clerk, next morning, ignorant of my arrest, went to my office, but was cautioned by the officers against coming again while in their possession, which they thus held for about two weeks, during which time, under pretence of searching for correspondence during the few months preceding, they ransacked my chests and drawers, overhauling and examining my papers, a collection of more than thirty years, giving access to the sacred privacy of private correspondence to the reporters of papers, who, in addition to the outrage of reading such, superadded the villiany of publishing pretended contents of such letters, thus grievously calumniating others as well as myself.

You cannot, sir, fail to appreciate how one's sensibilities must have been wounded by such outrages, which I was not allowed even to contradict. All these outrages, perpetrated by coarse, unfeeling brutes, who in seeking to wound me, strike all who in a long period of years may have written confidential letters.

I deem what I have thus said sufficient to indicate to you the state of my feelings; sufficient, also, to spur the instincts of an honorable mind, to the promptest and most ample reparation.

I have been here nearly three weeks, seeking to get possession of my papers. I called first upon my own representative, the Hon. Chas. J. Biddle, to go with me to see you, believing that to be the best and only sure mode of recovery. He was afraid to trust me in your presence, and I yielded a reluctant assent to his proposal to write a note to you for the papers. The reply to his note was

simply to say that his note had been referred to the War Department. On this I concluded to go alone in person to the Department. On asking if I could see the Assistant Secretary of State, I was told that I could go in as soon as persons then in should come out. Meantime, I infer, I was recognized, for I was told that I could not see the Assistant Secretary. I then inquired if I could see the Secretary; I was told his messenger would be out soon, and could tell me. On his coming out, I asked him if I could see the Secretary; I was told he would be engaged for about twenty minutes, when I could see him. This messenger had some conversation with the others, and I suppose, learned who I was, because, without going into the Secretary's office again, he came to me to say I could not see him. I reminded him that he had but a few minutes since told me I could see him in twenty minutes. He simply persisted in saying he could not see me. Concluding that I could get access to neither the Secretary nor his assistant, I sought Mr Senator Cowan, on last Wednesday, who I understood, would write you on that day. On Sunday I learned from him that he had not heard from you. I then concluded to address you directly myself, supposing that, perhaps, this more private mode might be more agreeable to you.

You will thus perceive what time has been consumed, and what perplexities have attended my attempts to get my property, and you will, I am sure, give due consideration and allowance to my aversion to being bandied about, in my application, to different parties, which promise only further delays and further vexations.

You do not state that the papers, etc., were in possession of Mr. Turner, and I suppose, at the time of Mr. Biddle's note, they were not. But whether they be, nominally, in his charge or not, that the papers having been brought on by your order, having been taken and are being held without warrant of law, and in defiance of my clear right, I hold it to be morally certain, under the circumstances, that your wish in the matter would be conclusive in securing their immediate return to me. I conceive I have an undoubted right to look to you for their return, and that if you have the disposition to have them returned, you can have them returned, and if you have not the disposition, I should be baffled in all attempts to get them, at the expense of much valuable time and great trial of feeling.

For those reasons, I respectfully urge upon your consideration, such action on your part as will secure to me the return of my papers, etc.

In thus writing, my desire has been to avoid saying anything which could tend to arouse in you objection to my request, and if there be anything herein which does give rise justly to objection, it has been inadvertently, or at least, unwittingly, said.

I close by renewing my request that you will take such action as shall cause all my papers, etc., to be restored to me.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,
W. H. WINDER.

To the Hon. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington.

WASHINGTON, 27th DEC. 1862.

SIR,

I beg leave to recall your attention to my note, to you, of 23d inst. While I fully appreciate the engrossing nature of your official duties in excluding other matters from your attention, I am sure you will make equal allowance to my urgency to be freed from a very inconvenient expenditure of time in seeking to obtain my property, which I had a right to expect to receive immediately on demand.

I am, sir, your ob't. s'vt.,
W. H. WINDER.

HON. W. H. SEWARD, Washington.

DECEMBER 31, 1862.

I called to-day, in the morning, (31st December, 1862.) upon Judge Advocate Turner. I met in his office Mr. Knapp, of Pittsburgh, who introduced me to Major Turner, when the following conversation occurred;—

C. H. W.—I have called, Major, in reference to the papers and books of my brother, Wm. H. Winder—I have a letter from Mr. Seward—

MAJOR T.—(interrupting—)Yes, I know—Mr. Seward referred the letter to me—but I know nothing of the matter. The papers and books were never sent to this office, and I know nothing whatever, about them—I never saw them.

C. H. W.—Have you made a report to Mr. Seward?

MAJOR T.—No—I filed the letter away, and I could only say that I never saw the papers—they were never sent to this office, and I know nothing whatever about them.

CH. H. WINDER.

(COPY OF ORIGINAL. 31 DEC. 1862.)

Delivered in the Afternoon, at Dwelling of Gov. Seward.

SIR,—On being unconditionally released from Fort Warren, after an unlawful imprisonment of fifteen months, I came here to claim of you the restoration of my papers, books, letters, etc., unlawfully taken from my possession and by your order forwarded to you, and which were and still are, I believe, under your control. At least I trace them distinctly to your possession, and I have the right fully, therefore, to look to you individually, for their restoration.

I have sought in respectful and unexceptionable modes to obtain from you the restoration of my property. My several applications to you have been evaded, either by a general reference of the applications to the War Department or to the Judge Advocate General, but no disavowal of having ordered, having received, and of still having control of said property.

When reminded, as you were, in my note of 23 December, of the fact that it was of you, individually, I claimed the restoration of the papers, etc., and appropriately sustained that application, you chose to refuse any notice of it, and when, by a note subsequently reminded of this neglect of my note, you persistently disregarded an application you cannot honorably deny.

I have now to make of you, personally, a peremptory demand for the restoration of all my property of which at any time you may have become possessed; all of which I allege to be unlawfully and improperly withheld from me.

If this demand be not complied with you will have forced a personal issue, of which at proper times and occasions I shall avail myself to vindicate my rights and dignity as an American citizen, at the least, your equal in all that constitutes a faithful and unselfish one.

You will decide on restoring my property which you cannot honestly withhold;—or, refusing, invite any action an honorable man may take to cause you to expiate a burning wrong.

I am, sir, your ob't. s't.

W. H. WINDER.

Washington, 31 Dec. 1862.

To the Hon. W. H. SEWARD, Washington.

On receiving the evasive reply to Mr. Biddle, I wrote to the Mayor of Philadelphia for a copy of the receipt which Detective Franklin stated he had received on surrender to the State Department of the papers. He replied—"I directed Chief Franklin to furnish a copy of the receipt given to him for the papers delivered to Government, and this morning, after search

among the documents in his office, he reports to me that he is unable to find it, but as soon as discovered you shall be informed of its purport."

On the 3d of January, the Mayor, in reply to my letter asking the name of the party signing the receipt, and its tenor, encloses Mr. Franklin's report. The report says: "Some weeks since, I was requested by your Honor to furnish the receipt given me for certain papers belonging to Mr. Winder, of this city, seized at the time of his arrest by order of the Government; I have carefully examined my papers, but have been unable to find it, and have no doubt it has been destroyed with other surplus matter. I think, however, there can be no difficulty in finding all the documents referred to, as I understood from Mr. Geo. Coffey, U. S. District Attorney, *yesterday*, that he was in possession of all of them, and I have no doubt Mr. Winder may get all the information desired by communicating with him. [Signed] BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Chief Detective Department Police."

It occurred to me when reading this, that my correspondence with Gov. Seward had induced him to send on the papers to Philadelphia, to keep up the idea that *he* had not possession of them. Upon my return to Philadelphia, I called on Mr. Coffey, and showed him the report of Franklin. He said he was in correspondence with the State Department, and the disposition of them would depend upon the result of it. I understood him to say, that under direction of the Department, he was examining to see if a prosecution could not be made, and that any further communication must be made through my counsel. After some time, my counsel, Mr. Biddle, wrote to Mr. Coffey, requesting the return of my effects, to which Mr. Coffey verbally replied, by stating that he would write to the State Department, and if no order to the contrary should be received, he would return them. Accordingly, after a weeks delay, he surrendered a box, on the top of which was,

“From the Department of State, U. S. A.
Geo. A. Coffey, Esq., U. S. District Attorney,
Philadelphia, Penna.”

showing that it came from the State Department—was in possession of Gov. Seward, while he was referring Mr. Biddle and myself to the War Department.

To those whose time and leisure will allow them to read, the following pieces are offered as being portions and samples of the “obnoxious” writings which rendered Governor Seward “cast iron” towards the writer. The pieces were contributions to the editorial columns of the *Pennsylvanian*, and were among the papers seized.

DOUGH-FACES.

The term “dough-face,” originally used by John Randolph, to indicate those northern Representatives whose course and conduct, instead of being that honorable and consistent one which would mark the career of a man who is guided by his oath to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and a right sense of honor, habitually watched the weather-cock of opinion in his own district, pandering to every errorism, instead of manfully performing his duty and throwing upon his constituents the responsibility of condemning or approving his course, which had been an intelligent and conscientious discharge of his duties, as imperatively required by his oath and his obligation as a citizen under the Constitution. This term “dough-face,” thus having an appropriate origin, has been stolen by the very men to whom it is applicable, and has by them been habitually applied to men who have proved themselves iron-visaged towards all traders in politics, who adopt or discard principles as a gambler discards cards; the only question in their selection being, will they win? The only principles they will adopt are those which they think will win, and they have no hesitation in adopting every variety and contrariety of principle which may be supposed to contribute to political success. There are several classes of political opinions or parties in the North. The following are the portraits of the chief classes:

To begin first with that class which John Randolph and all honest men did *not* call “dough-faces,” but who are so called by those

modern politicians, whose Bible is successful expediency, for on this hang all *their* law and gospel. The "dough-faces," so called by these creatures, are thus pictured :

His conviction is, that if slavery had never been introduced into this country, he would now resist it to the uttermost. Slavery being in our midst, without and against our wish, whatever the blame of its existence may be, it attaches to those who introduced it. Being thus in our midst, it should be dealt with by the North in a manner to do no injustice to those who are directly affected by it, seeking no control over it not given by the clearest provisions of the Constitution.

Sensible of the evils of slavery, he is not less insensible to the ineffably greater ills of injudicious emancipation or interference of any kind, to both white and black, and he therefore would prefer that no emancipation be allowed, save and except upon the condition of an exit from the country and perpetual absence. Thus a control of slavery would be in the hands of the people, should they desire a removal of this race. He also is of opinion, that as a class, negroes in slavery, in a white country, are themselves better off, and less a nuisance than they would be as free negroes.

He believes it would, in every respect, to whites and negroes, be an improvement, by such proper laws and regulations as shall seem to their owners best calculated to remove the incidents connected with slavery which now give cause for obloquy. He believes that such laws, regulations and customs may be adopted, (and must be if agitation should cease,) as would render slave labor more efficient and productive than it now is, while the repulsive features of slavery might be almost or wholly obliterated, until slavery should present a model system of apprenticeship, in which vice would disappear from among slaves to a degree wholly unknown in any age or nation among an equal number of laboring people; and also would be seen a degree of health, comfort and general exemption from physical disability unknown to any other class of mankind—a class which, as a whole, would compare most favorably with the health, virtue and comfort of the congregations of any of the Abolition clergy—a class in which drunkenness, with all its concomitants, would be rare; in which quarreling, rioting, fighting and gambling would be almost unknown; in which want of food and raiment would be unknown, and sickness and old age would ever receive kind and considerate care, and the most skilful medical attendance and the best medicines—who would have less severe labor, and less hardships generally, than is the lot of the most fortunate working people in any country, clime or age.

He would feel at liberty to make all such suggestions on the subject as are consistent between friends mutually respecting each other, and mutually confident of good will.

He believes that his fellow countrymen south of Mason and Dixon's line, to be equally, with those North of it, true to the tenets and practice of the Christian religion in all the relations of life; as patriotically attached to the Constitution, to the whole country, to its past history with all its holy recollections of common struggles and common triumphs, and to its future destiny; that they are, in every respect, entitled to equal consideration with those of the North, and claiming no more.

He knows that slavery existed in every State in the Union; he knows that nine-tenths of the slaves were brought by the North and others; not a tenth by the South.

He knows that if no slaves had been introduced into the country except such as were introduced by the South, slavery would have but a nominal existence.

He knows that the Constitution was solemnly adopted and sanctioned by every state of the Union.

He knows that by the Constitution the slave trade is perpetually legal, unless and until a majority shall wish it to cease, and that they all tied up their hands, so as to be incapable of stopping it for twenty years.

He knows that now, if a mere act of Congress be repealed, that under the Constitution—that Constitution adopted, approved and sanctioned by every State—that the slave trade would be as legal now as it was when unanimously it was so admitted to be by every State, and when the people of every State now free engaged in it.

He knows the object of legalizing the slave trade and of keeping open, with the iron bars of the Constitution, the portals of the Country, to admit slaves, was for the purpose of increasing the number of slaves, and of extending its hold upon the nation.

He knows that the introduction of three or four times the original number of slaves, was no indication of a purpose to get rid of slavery nor to circumscribe it.

To augment so many fold the number of slaves, he believes is evidence rather of right to extend the area of slavery than any good reason for circumscribing and confining it. *He knows that the now free States had an exodus for their slaves, by which they got rid of them most profitably by transferring them to our Southern States.*

He knows it was the people of the now free States who imported the slaves, who sold them to the citizens of the South, giving them bills of sale with guarantee of title to the slaves and to their descendants. He knows that the proceeds of these sales, with interest, now sum up over seven hundred millions which the North have received from the South.

He feels alike as a man, a brother, a fellow countryman of a common country, with a common territory, *that the States of the South have an equal right for an exodus from their midst of the slaves*

which have been exuded upon them by the Northern States. He believes, and the South admits, only a common and equal right to the common territories to the citizens equally of the several States, and that they may all go there equally and be equally and fully protected by the General Government in all their property.

He believes, and the South concedes, that when prepared to take the attitude of a State, and to assume complete sovereignty, subject only to the Constitution, that *then* it is time to exercise the sovereign authority, or rather by a Constitution, to indicate under what programme they will assume sovereignty, and in so doing may do as any other sovereign State, retain or exclude future slavery.

He thus judges—*Suppose all the States were still slaveholding, then according to free soil doctrine, we should have a common territory from which the whole nation would be excluded; and though every State and every man would be willing to go with slaves, and those left behind would be glad to have them go with slaves, yet they could not go, nor would any power or authority exist which could authorize it. To such absurdity does free soil gravitate.*

He believes, that until 1808, the vessels engaged in the slave-trade were always admittedly under the protection of the Federal Government, and its whole power, and that all the States were pledged to defend and protect these vessels on distant seas with their slave cargoes, as now also they are, of vessels carrying slaves from Norfolk for instance to New Orleans.

Thus the Federal Government could protect the owners of slaves on the high seas against all the world, but cannot protect them on its own soil, on the common soil of its own Territories!

Supposing California to be a Territory, we might have seen the United States ships convoying slave vessels with their cargoes to the shores of California, and protecting the property of American citizens on board those ships, but the moment they land the Federal arm must be paralyzed, and the slaves, which on the high seas were property, properly protected by the Federal arm, cease to be property or to have claim to protection, as such, on the common highway (the Territory) of our own country. *The Federal arm can protect slaves on a floating Territory beyond jurisdiction, but cannot protect the same property on a permanent Territory within its jurisdiction. Such is free soil doctrine.*

He does not believe it was the intention of the North and the South, or of the South or of the North in making the Constitution—in making provisions for an immense increase of slaves, to so circumscribe the area of slavery as to endanger the engulfing of white States in a black sea.

He does not believe that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution to confine slavery within narrow limits, to intensify its evils, to eventuate, inevitably, sooner or later, in the over-

whelming of the whites, and the existence of a negro community in those States which shared the perils and the victories of the revolution.

He knows that distribution of the *proceeds* of the common territories and funds has been made among the States in proportion to Federal population.

He knows that in case of amicable dissolution, the South would be entitled in law and in justice to a proportion of the common domain equal to her Federal population.

He cannot, in view of this, perceive the propriety of making to the South the condition of a continued Union, a law by which the South is to lose her whole share of the common territory.

He thinks that either a division should be made of Territories, allowing the North her proportion and the South hers, or else a common and full ingress and protection of all property.

He is firmly convinced by this arrangement that the North would be the great gainer.

He further is of opinion that it is the extreme of folly and of wickedness for the residents of the free States, whose interests, while such, are in no way affected by the condition of the people in the Territories, to be exciting the bitterest feelings of animosity, neglecting all interests, and making all subservient to a malignant fight between the States about the condition of a few residents of a distant Territory, who can best take care of themselves without interference, and who, therefore, should be left to the undisturbed enjoyment of their properties and to the formation of such a Constitution as they may themselves choose to make, with which to enter into this great Confederacy an equal sovereign.

He is sure that the larger population and the emigration from abroad, will insure to the North, under Southern construction of the Constitution, practically, all or nearly all that could be had by free soil construction.

He is of opinion that the Constitution gives to the South the right she claims, whatever may be the result; or if this right be not clear beyond question, that when the practical results must be even as free soil men claim, there is no shadow of apology for arousing to turbulence the whole nation, to the infinite detriment of all not having selfish aims to secure through the excitement threatening permanently the harmony of the States and the existence of the Union.

He knows that they who are so violent in their denunciations of slavery and for its restriction, and most furious for its abolition, are precisely those who stole the slaves from Africa and pocketed the price of their sale, giving guarantee of title. Now these negro thieves, clinging to the price received for the stolen negroes, set

themselves up as judges, witnesses, prosecutors, and executioners of the receivers of stolen negroes. The thief, with the price of the stolen goods in his pocket, is pronounced immaculate, while the receiver who paid the price and received the warrant of title, is pronounced the guilty, the only guilty party, by the immaculate thief himself.

The brazen-faced men of the North, call the Constitution a covenant with hell, seek to abolish slavery from the District of Columbia; refuse to enact a fugitive slave law, present petitions for abolishing the inter-State slave trade, for abolishing slavery in all the States. *They avow a settled, inexorable purpose to keep the slaves within circumscribed limits, increasing without emigration, while the whites are being diminished by emigration, until the slaves shall become so overwhelming as to render the destruction of the whites certain.* They countenance, by every possible means, every species of assault upon the rights and interests of southern citizens.

They are systematically banded together to steal the property of Southern people, and daily boast of their successful iniquity. They denounce in terms of the vilest reproach men who in all the relations of life are their superiors, even in their own estimation of themselves.

They interpose fraud and violence to prevent Southern citizens from obtaining their lawful property.

They enact laws punishing any of the citizens of their own State, who prove loyal to truth, justice, the law and the Constitution.

They remove upright Judges *because* they perform righteously their duty.

They enfranchise negroes and disfranchise white men.

They number, exclusively in their ranks, all the infidels, all the base, corrupting isms of the day; they daily wilfully slander and malign men whose feet they are unworthy to kiss.

They are in traitorous conjunction with foreign enemies, sending beggar women and priestly letters begging money to enable them to carry on ferocious hostility against the citizens of the South.

They endorse, for circulation in the free States, a book which they allege will, by its circulation, "render morally certain the passing away of slavery and the triumph of the Republican party in 1860." This book, which is to perform these miracles inseparable, proposes to throttle slavery, to extinguish it by all violence necessary. It is not strange, therefore, that the endorsers of this book should sympathise with JOHN BROWN, should keep in pay the white-livered and black-hearted clergy who find in a modern BARRABAS, a greater than Christ—a party which says an unceasing furious conflict must progress until all the States are slave or all are free—that, as all being slave is an impossibility, all shall be free and by the action of the North.—These are the parties who proclaim that **HELPER'S**

book will do this bloody work, and carry in triumph on its re waves the Republican party in 1860.

These men who through ten thousand presses and hired lecturers, are preparing the people of the North for a bloody war on the South, by filling their hearts with hate through endless streams of slander—these parties who receive full four dollars of every six dollars the product of slave labor, and whose every mouthful of bread is moist with the sweat of the slave; whose wives and daughters are clothed with this money, are the brazen-faced.

These brazen-faced men have in their midst crime, distress, destitution, vice in every appalling form, and to extent forty times over all that occurs in the South, yet they can find time to criticise the note in the Southern eye but none to extract the beam from their own. They steal a slave and starve him as a freeman. They pass laws excluding him from the borders of their States, insisting that the South shall not only set the slaves free, but that they shall continue to be encumbered with them as free. They claim that if the South remain in the Union, all the National territory, now and hereafter, shall inure exclusively to the North. That the South shall bear all the burdens of purchasing or acquiring territory and defending it, but shall have no part or lot in it. If they be not allowed to take their slaves, they cannot go, because they could not dispose of them, and to deny this right is as effectually to exclude them as if it were hostile territory.

These brazen-faced men have no hesitation to take mortgages on slaves, to sell them under judgment, to marry their sons and daughters to slave holders, to go into slave states themselves by thousands, and live among slave holders and slaves, but in turn no slave holder can go with his slaves on the *common, joint property*.

Above all, these brazen-faced men deify annually, hourly their slave-stealing ancestors as the best of men, acknowledging themselves to be degenerate descendants—truly they are *degenerate descendants of slave stealers*. It is these very degenerate descendants of slave stealers, so eloquent upon the virtue, humanity, and liberty loving progenitor slave stealers, who are equally eloquent in denouncing those who purchased these slaves from Puritan slave thieves, and this very purchase money educated these degenerate children of puritan slave thieves.

It is a singular fact that *after having pocketed* the price of their stolen slaves, remorse overtook some, but failing to relieve themselves by indemnity, the curse became hereditary, unfortunately, the base love of filthy lucre is also hereditary, and while furious remorse tears their hearts, instead of getting relief by repentance and indemnity, they seek to pacify conscience by holding on to the money, and damning not themselves, the thieves, but by devoting to destruction those who did not steal the negroes, but who relieved

them from the grasp of the puritan thieves. So marked is this hereditary remorse, that it is quite possible some physical evidence is transmitted also, and it might be well to strip one and see if there be not a streak down the spine, as well as a corrosion of the conscience. Whenever you find one of these brazen-faced, foul-mouthed men, rely on it he is an hereditary thief, and the price of it is searing his soul.

They seek to wash out the "damned spot" from their own hands with the blood of the Southern receiver. Many of the reptiles writhing with remorse, this hereditary remorse, have crawled into the pulpit, but when they open their mouth, instead of the healing words of the Son of God, only the sound of curses come forth. All the blood of a Redeemer of mankind cannot wash out the stains from these remorseful but unrepenting sinners, who wish a pardon for sin while they continue to turn the sweet morsel under their tongue. They add to the original sin not only perversity in holding on to sinful fruits, but aggravate it by hideous calumnies on the good. There are among them many moral Calibans, objects hideous in the sight of God and man. See the Parkers, the Cheevers, Beechers, Furness', *et id omne genus*, writhing beneath the hereditary curse of God, showing by their tortures how they feel his vengeance, but obstinate in resistance against yielding any portion of the fruit of sin so long enjoyed. These are the men who prate of "dough-faces." As they have voluntarily placed themselves with JOHN BROWN, it will require no prophet to tell that they will join the Puritan negro thieves, who already have their Apostle, JOHN BROWN as a fit pioneer. It would be a fitting retribution if the daughters of these men should be engulfed in the arms of masculine darkness for the manufacture of fac-similes of theimps of hell.

(From The Pennsylvanian, Dec. 21, 1860.)

THE EXTREME DEMAND OF THE SOUTH.

We feel fully authorised to propose to the North one single concession by it, which if granted, will be entirely satisfactory to the South, dissipating at once and forever all the dark clouds which now lower so moodily over the land, and will restore the genial cordiality which existed among our fathers.

The concession by the North, which we stand commissioned to seek of her, would be a priceless treasure to the South, and the yielding of which will not impoverish the North, but, in truth, will greatly enrich both.

Is the North prepared to grant such a request? It is comprised in four monosyllables.

"GIVE ME THINE HEART," 'tis all I ask. Thus saith the South unto the North; for, in receiving this, it knows that all other things needful and proper will of themselves flow in with it.

Thus did our fathers both at the North and at the South. Possessing thus mutually each others' heart, their action spontaneously yielded fruit meet to such seed.

WASHINGTON, the slaveholder, was selected by the North as the foremost, fittest man of all the nation, to vindicate its rights and lead it to victory.

This same son of the South was deemed by the North the man of all, to preside over a Convention for a more perfect and fraternal union between the North and the slaveholding South.

Again this same wise and good man was unanimously called upon to launch the ship of State, and to take her helm at the start on her voyage of time.

Ripe in years and rich with the harvest of good deeds, he sank to rest with his fathers, having earned the position of being "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen;" and by the universal consent of the civilized world, this slaveholder, in moral grandeur, stands "among the peerless, peerless he." Our FATHERS were not ashamed of a slaveholder. If such be the fruit of a slaveholding system, let him, who can show a system with richer fruit, cast at it the first stone.

Our fathers of the North, in the formation of the Constitution, had no scruple, in the face of the world, to pledge the

entire power of the combined States to the protection and encouragement of the African slave trade; so *far from regarding the trade as inadmissible, the North was the only trader*, which it carried on in the only manner by which it could profit. The slaves would not pay in the North, they were therefore sold to the South. Acting with a due sense of honor, the North, selling as merchandise, the slaves to the South, with a guarantee of title to them and to their posterity, had no hesitation in giving the most ample assurance that, if any of the slaves escaped to the North they should be faithfully returned to their owners. And, as a still further evidence of their desire to cultivate a more intimate and social intercourse with their Southern slaveholding brethren, they passed laws of comity, by which the people of the South might have in attendance upon them, without risk of loss, the servants accustomed to wait on them. So far from any inexorable hostility to an increase of the area of slavery, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama were added with approval by the North. And without the approval of the North, Louisiana, Florida and Texas could never have been added. And in all of these cases slavery was acknowledged, and the most solemn provisions made for its protection.

Our fathers, North and South, were closely united in religious ties; the good men of the North in those days did not denounce their Southern brethren as Pariahs, refuse to hold communion with them and pronounce the slave-acknowledging Constitution "the sum of all villainies." Neither their pulpits, presses, lectures, orators nor schools sowed broadcast the seeds of hatred towards the South.

Then the North and the South had mutually given their hearts. Then the mingling together was of kindred drops. No cordon fire was threatened to compel the South in despair to sting itself to death. The North and the South, in emulous rivalry, did homage to the great of both sections.

Then, WASHINGTON, on the confines of eternity, viewing his own early exit, and the future of this great country, plainly foresaw the danger to this our Garden of Eden. The wily serpent promising a knowledge of good and evil, seducing the ear of EVE to the councils of the Devil; EVE; hearkening unto these, and forgetful of the word of God, brought sin and death into the world. So saw WASHINGTON the serpent Abolition, distilling into the portals of the Northern ear the deadly poison

which, withering the fraternal link that bound the North and South together, would stifle the life-current, which, coursing unchecked through the Union, gave it vigor and health.

Alas! that this prophecy should so soon be fulfilled, and a paralysed Union now stand a monument of his wisdom, as of the unutterable infamy of those who have sought eminence by the destruction of an immeasurably mightier temple than that at Ephesus. We close these remarks with the request which we proffered at the commencement, to the North, on behalf of the South—GIVE ME THINE HEART.

If the North can truly respond, then all be well, if it will not, then no power on earth can vitalise our Union, and in discovered fragments the Union will lie a victim to the serpent ABOLITION.

